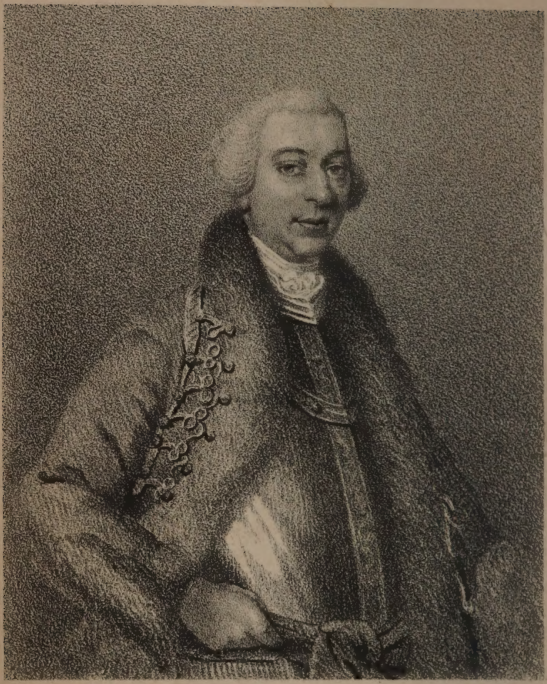
№ 25555.38

GIVEN BY

Hon. Edward Everett

107.6



Je ai l'honneur d'Etre
votre très
humble serviteur
Geo: Sackville

Pendletons Lith.

JUNIUS UNMASKED;

OR

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE

PROVED TO BE JUNIUS.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

SHOWING,

THAT THE AUTHOR OF THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS

WAS ALSO

THE AUTHOR OF 'THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III,'
AND AUTHOR OF 'THE NORTH BRITON,'
ASCRIBED TO MR. WILKES.

EMBELLISHED WITH A PRINT OF SACKVILLE.

Movet Urna Nomen.

BOSTON:
HILLIARD, GRAY, LITTLE, AND WILKINS.
1828.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, *to wit:*

District Clerk's Office.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-third day of April, A. D. 1828, in the fifty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit: —"Junius Unmasked; or Lord George Sackville proved to be Junius. With an Appendix, showing, that the Author of the Letters of Junius was also the Author of 'The History of the Reign of George III,' and Author of 'The North Briton,' ascribed to Mr. Wilkes. Embellished with a Print of Sackville. *Movet Urna Nomen.*"—In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein menioned:" and also to an act, entitled "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned;' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.

JNO. W. DAVIS,

Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

Wm. Edw. Everett

Aug. 7, 1855

L 11576

CAMBRIDGE.

HILLIARD, METCALF, AND COMPANY.

Junius Booth

CONTENTS.

Page.

PREFACE - - - - - - - - - 1

Chapter.

I. History of the Letters of Junius and supposed Authors - - - - - 7

II. Memoir of Sackville - - - - 20

III. Presumptive Argument - - - 46

IV. Argument from Sackville's "Address" - 69

V. Argument from the "Considerations" - 75

VI. Argument from the "Reply to Burgoyne" 97

VII. Argument from Sackville's Speeches - 103

VIII. Concluding Remarks - - - - 107

APPENDIX.

I. Junius the Author of "The History of the Reign of George III." - - - 119

II. Junius the Author of "The North Briton" 142

NOTES - - - - - - - - 169

ERRATA.

Page 57, line 16, for *note* read *vote*.
" 107, " 6, " *destruction* read *detraction*.
" 113, " 17, " *This* read *His*.

PREFACE.

It is now some years, since I was convinced by what may be called internal evidence, that lord George Sackville, otherwise called lord George Germain, was the author of the celebrated Letters of Junius. The comparison of a short piece, written by him before those letters were published, exhibited such a co-incidence in some striking peculiarities of style, as left with me no doubt on the subject. The reasons of my opinion, then committed to writing, are now before me. A subsequent perusal of Woodfall's edition of Junius confirmed my persuasion by a great variety of considerations, which I also recorded at the time. Having this impression, I lately procured the "Critical Enquiry" of Mr. Coventry, published at London, 1825; in which

he endeavors to prove, that Sackville was the author of the letters of Junius ;—a point, which, I think, he has proved beyond any reasonable doubt. Yet, however strong and unanswerable may be the argument of Mr. Coventry, there is a class of proofs, yet stronger and more irresistible, which he has in a great measure overlooked ;—I mean the internal proofs, derived from habits of thought and peculiarities of style.

My original narrow field of comparison I have recently greatly enlarged, not only by the letters and speeches of lord Sackville, contained in Mr. Coventry's book ; but more especially and chiefly by two considerable pamphlets, written, as I am persuaded and shall attempt to prove, by lord Sackville ;—works, of which Mr. Coventry was ignorant. While therefore I shall not fail to present to the reader the substance of Mr. Coventry's argument, I shall bring forward an entirely new argument, constituting the greater part of my work.

It ought to be considered, that there are different kinds of proof ;—some *demonstrative*, founded on

definitions, and proceeding link by link with intuitive evidence; others *probable*, founded on a combination of circumstances, yet perhaps amounting to moral certainty and producing the most unshaken persuasion. There may be such "a conjugation of probabilities," as will strike the mind with the force of a mathematical demonstration. For instance, there is no more doubt, that the letters of Junius, which we now read, were first published in London in the years 1769, 1770, &c., than there is, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. I hope, therefore, it will not be thought, that there is any thing unbecoming or presumptuous in the title of this book,—'Sackville *proved* to be Junius.' I am satisfied the *proof* is made out; and, I flatter myself, others will be satisfied.

In the comparison as to style, I am aware, that it will be easy to take out a *single* supposed co-incidence, and to say, that it amounts to nothing, because the same *word* or *phrase* may be found in other writers. The argument rests on the *whole* resemblance; yet the whole must be made up of particular instan-

ces. If in a court of justice I should endeavor to prove, that the prisoner was the murderer, and should begin with alleging, that the prisoner's eyes were black, as the murderer's eyes were known to be ;—the man, who should limit his attention to this single proof, might indeed cavil at my argument. He might exclaim,—'This is absurd! The eyes of ten thousand people are black.' But if I should go on to show, that the prisoner has the same cast or squint of his eyes, the same features throughout, the same stature, the same gait, and the same limp with the murderer ;—that he was at the place, in the time, when and where the murder was committed ;—and that he had been previously engaged in a quarrel with the deceased, and had a strong interest in putting him out of the way ;—if he never even denied his guilt and asserted his innocence ;—and if at a time, when he thought he was dying, he had sent for a son of the deceased, with whom he had never quarrelled, and in a mysterious speech asked his *forgiveness* for any possible injury ;—if these and other numerous corresponding circumstances should

all be established; it would then be seen, that what was trifling in itself, yet was of weight in its connexions; and that a multiplicity of co-inciding circumstances amounted, if not to demonstration, yet to something higher, than the positive testimony of a witness, or even the prisoner's confession.

If the authorship of Junius be established, it may prevent for the future much idle speculation on the subject. Nor can it fail to be considered as a very extraordinary circumstance, that the English political writer, most generally admired by Americans, should prove to be the inveterate enemy of American liberty,—the stern British Minister, who devised and ordered the murderous, savage inroads, which covered with desolation and indescribable horrors some of the fairest villages of the American frontier.

B——, Dec. 1827.

JUNIUS UNMASKED.

CHAPTER I.

The History and supposed Authors of the Letters of Junius.

The first public letter of Junius, contained in the edition prepared by the author, was published at London, in the Public Advertiser, of which Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall was the proprietor, January 21, 1769; his last letter was published January 21, 1772. But among the miscellaneous letters of the same writer, found in Woodfall's edition, there is one, with the signature of Junius, dated November 21, 1768. Among his other signatures were those of Poplicola, Mnemon, Atticus, Lucius, Junius, Philo-Junius, Nemesis, Domitian, Vindex, and Veteran. The first public address, received from him by Mr. Woodfall, was dated April 28, 1767. The last private letter was dated January 19, 1773; so that he was a correspondent of Mr.

Woodfall for nearly six years. Early in 1772 the Letters of Junius were collected in a volume, under the direction of the author, and published with the motto—" Stat Nominis Umbra."

The letters of Junius, folded small, with an envelope, were sent by the hands of some chairman or ticket-porter to the office of Mr. Woodfall. The original copies of the letters were returned to the author, as soon as they were done with, addressed to Mr. William Middleton or Mr. John Fretly, and left at a coffee-house, a hint being given in the Advertiser, as '*C. at the usual place.*' They were called for by a chairman or ticket-porter, and delivered either to the author or his agent, in waiting in some part of the city. Mr. Jackson " once saw a tall gentleman, dressed in a light coat, with bag and sword, throw into the office door, opening in Ivy-lane, a letter of Junius', which he picked up and immediately followed the bearer of it into St. Paul's Church-yard, where he got into a hackney coach and drove off."

The private letters of Junius being written in the same hand with the public letters, it is probable, from the interlineations in the letters, that no amanuensis was employed. Indeed the writer's hand was evidently disguised. The return of the letters provided in a great degree for his safety.

It is probable, that Junius had an agent in conveying the letters, so as not to expose his own person. He says to Woodfall—"The gentleman, who transacts the *conveyancing* part of our correspondence, tells me, there was much difficulty last night. For this reason, and because it could be no way material for me to see a paper on Saturday, which is to appear on Monday, I resolved not to *send* for it."—Yet it is possible, that Junius in disguise, at first if not afterwards, repaired to the bar of the coffee-house for his letters, for he says of a coffee-house ;—"Where it is absolutely impossible *I* should be known."

The letters of Junius have been ascribed to a multitude of individuals. I am not sure, that the following list includes all the supposed authors :—Horace Walpole, Charles Lloyd, private secretary of Mr. Grenville, John Roberts, Samuel Dyer, W. G. Hamilton, Dr. Butler, bishop of Hereford, Rev. P. Rosenhagen, Thomas Hollis, W. H. C. Bentinck, J. P. De Lolme, Dr. Wilmot, J. Horne Tooke, Hugh Macauley Boyd, lord Shelburne, colonel Barré, Dr. Gilbert Stuart, John Wilkes, John Dunning, Richard Glover, the earl of Chatham, Sir William Jones, Edward Gibbon, Henry Flood, Edmund Burke, and Sir Philip Francis. I think it wholly unnecessary to beat down the slight preten-

sions, set up in favor of almost all these claimants. Dr. Johnson declared, that he knew no person, except Burke, who was *capable* of writing the letters of Junius. Yet the temper, the sentiments, the style, and the voluntary disclaimer of Burke have, I believe, produced a general persuasion, that he could not be the author. The case of Sir Philip Francis is set forth ingeniously by Mr. John Taylor in his work, entitled, "The Identity of Junius with a distinguished living Character;" yet his mass of evidence dwindles down before an exact scrutiny, and is overpowered completely by the evidence in favor of lord Sackville.

Mr. Bisset says, that "most of the writers against Junius, in the periodical publications of the times, address him as an Irishman." It is almost certain, that the author of Junius received his education in Ireland. He uses the term *collegian*, in the sense of an academic or gownsman, differently, it is said, from its use at Oxford and Cambridge:—"the little sneering sophistries of a collegian." The phrase '*so far forth*' I find in bishop Berkeley of Ireland, but I doubt whether it is found in any good writer in 1769, unless he had been educated in Ireland:—"*So far forth*, as it operates, it constitutes a house of commons." The following use of *shall* and *should* is hardly pure English:—"In vain *shall*

you look for protection to that venal vote:"—"If from the profoundest contempt, I should ever rise into anger, he *should* soon find, that all I have already said of him was lenity and compassion."

I am satisfied no man, who had not been conversant either with Ireland or Scotland, would have employed the word *mean* in this manner:—"They, who object to detached parts of Junius' letter, either do not *mean him fairly*, or have not considered, &c." —"I *meant* the cause and the public; both are given up."—"You are satisfied, that I *mean* you well."—"By all, that's honorable, I *mean* nothing but the cause." The bitterness of Junius towards the Scotch proves, that he was not a Scotchman.

There are other reasons for considering the author of Junius as well acquainted with Ireland. It is, then, altogether probable, that either BURKE, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, or lord SACKVILLE was the author. In respect to BURKE, a late writer, Mr. Charles Butler, says—"It is known, that Sir William Draper at first divided his suspicions of the authorship of Junius between Burke and lord George Sackville, and that, on Burke's unequivocal denial of it, he transferred them wholly to his Lordship." Now, as Sir William Draper entered personally into a conflict with Junius, he was much interested to know the author. He was intimate with lord Granby, commander in chief, and

could hear the suggestions of the men in power in regard to the supposed author. It is probable therefore, that his suspicions were transferred to the right person.—Mr. Boswell, in his Life of Johnson, remarks—"He said, 1779, I should have believed Burke to be Junius, because I know no man but Burke, who is capable of writing these letters; but Burke spontaneously denied it to me. The case would have been different, had I asked him, if he was the author; a man so questioned, as to an anonymous publication, may think he has a right to deny it." This denial, taking into view the moral character of Burke, will probably be deemed decisive. There are certainly many points of resemblance in the style of Junius and Burke; but there are also striking diversities. The resemblance may be owing to an Irish education and to the study of the same models of style; the diversities are hardly reconcileable with the identity of Burke and Junius.

Mr. Bissett has stated various reasons for and against considering Mr. Burke as the author of the letters of Junius. In his political principles generally, but particularly in hostility to the Grafton administration and to the doctrines of lord Mansfield, Burke agreed with Junius. Burke had also the requisite talents and genius. But the considerations on the other side appear to be unanswerable. The

intellectual character of Junius differs exceedingly from that of Burke. "In Junius we have more of perspicuity than of expansion; more of pungency than of force.—He rapidly penetrates into particulars, but does not rise to general views.—Junius keeps directly to his subject: the rapidly associating mind of Burke pursues his thoughts through a train of combinations.—The style of Junius is clear, correct, and precise, with no great variety: the style of Burke copious, brilliant, forcible, with wonderful variety."—Besides this diversity, the sentiments of Junius differ from the known sentiments of Burke. Junius speaks of lord Rockingham's administration, as "dissolving in its own weakness:" of that administration Burke had been a member and was a strenuous supporter. Lord Rockingham was his patron and friend, and had advanced, towards the purchase of his villa, ten thousand pounds. Junius was in favor of triennial parliaments: Burke was uniformly averse to the project. Junius disapproves of the opposition to Mr. Grenville's laws respecting America: Burke constantly opposed American taxation. —Burke also himself, in one of his speeches, speaks thus of Junius,—"How comes JUNIUS to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range uncontrolled and unpunished through the land? The myrmidons of the court pursue him in vain.

They will not spend their time on me or you; they disdain such vermin, when the *mighty boar of the forest*, that has broke their toils, is before them. When I saw his attack upon the king, my blood run cold; not, that there are not in that composition many bold truths, by which a prince might profit: it was the rancor and venom, with which I was struck. When I expected from his daring flight his fall and final ruin, I behold him *soaring higher*, and coming souse upon both houses of parliament; nor has he dreaded the terrors of your brow, Sir. [Sir Fletcher Norton.] King, Lords, and Commons are the sport of his fury."

It is hardly credible, that Burke would speak thus of Junius, if he was himself the writer of the letters of Junius. And indeed, I think, from reading the writings of Burke, that he was incapable of the *venom* and *rancor*, certainly in respect to public men in England, with which Junius is chargeable. Besides, it is known, that Mr. Burke prosecuted Mr. Woodfall for a libel in 1784, and obtained a verdict of one hundred pounds damages. It is hardly possible, that the author of Junius, the friend of Mr. Woodfall, giving him all the profits from the sale of his letters, should have prosecuted for a libel the printer of all his own libels.

In respect to Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, so far as style is concerned, it is not impossible, that he was the author of Junius. Though he left Ireland, when he was ten years of age; yet from his father he might afterwards have derived a tinge of the Irish idiom. Sir Philip was born in 1740. The first letter from the author of Junius, under a different signature, was dated April 28, 1767. At this period, at the age of twenty-six, is it probable, that Sir Philip could have been qualified to commence those writings, for the production of which Dr. Johnson knew no one to be competent excepting Mr. Burke? But Sir Philip at this time held an important post in the war office, which he retained till 1772. In the discharge of its duties it is impossible, that he should have found leisure for the great labors of Junius.

In a *private* letter, November 27, 1771, Junius says—"After *long experience* of the world I affirm before God, I never knew a rogue, who was not unhappy." Sackville might say this at the age of fifty-six; but how could Sir Philip at the age of thirty-one? Two years before this Junius said—"*Long habit* has taught me to pass by all the declamation, with which champions parade. I look upon it as no better than those flourishes of the back sword, with which the great masters of *my time* in the amphitheatre entertained the spectators."

June 1769,—"I *remember seeing* Busembaum, Suarez, Molina, and a score of other Jesuitical books, burnt at Paris for their sound casuistry by the hands of the common hangman. Lett. Apr. 1768." If this occurrence was in 1764, when the order of Jesuits was put down in France, it is utterly improbable, that Sir Philip, who had just entered, in 1763, upon his labors in the war office, could have found time to visit Paris: if, as has been thought, the occurrence was many years before, then Sir Philip was too young to have gone abroad. Sackville accompanied his father, the duke of Dorset, to Paris in 1738, when he was twenty-one years of age. When Sir Philip was questioned on this subject in 1813 by the editor of the Monthly Magazine, he replied—"Whether you will assist in giving currency to a silly, malignant *falsehood* is a question for your own discretion. To me it is a matter of perfect indifference."

In respect to any similarity of style between Sir Philip and Junius, to show which a long array of passages is produced; it is easily accounted for by the admiration, with which the letters of Junius must have been studied by Sir Philip, and by his diligent *imitation* of their supposed excellencies. Mr. Taylor has shown a co-incidence of thought and style. If he could have produced some writing of Sir Phil-

ip *antecedent* to the letters of Junius, his argument might have been of some value.

The resemblance in respect to hand-writing, on which Mr. Taylor places some reliance, I think on careful examination amounts to nothing. Sackville's writing, though twenty-five years earlier, has a strong resemblance to that of Junius. In my judgment it is the same hand. That Sir Philip wrote *tho'*, and *in*hance, *in*gross, *in*force, *in*slave, &c. instead of *though*, *en*hance, &c. in the manner of Junius, proves nothing of itself, for Sackville wrote in the same manner. Probably both adopted the method of writing *in*hance &c. from Dr. Francis' Demosthenes,—a work, which, I doubt not, Junius diligently studied, and from which he transplanted many words and phrases into his own writings.

How could Mr. Francis say, in the midst of his labors at the war-office, as Junius said August 15, 1771,—"Is there no merit in dedicating *my life* to the information of my fellow subjects?—What public question have I declined?—What villain have I spared?—Is there no labor in the composition of these letters? Mr. Horne, I fear, is partial to me; and measures the facility of my writings by the fluency of his own."

I am therefore satisfied, beyond a doubt, that Sir Philip was not the author of Junius. Yet I am not certain, that he was not a friend of lord Sackville, patronized by him, and employed by him as his agent in his secret correspondence. Junius says, January 18, 1772,—"The *gentleman*, who *transacts* the *conveyancing* part of our correspondence, tells me there was much difficulty last night." This gentleman, who was once observed, was *tall*, as were both Sackville and Sir Philip; but the danger of performing his own errand must to lord Sackville have been extreme. Therefore he might have employed a confidential agent, and that agent, I believe, was Sir Philip; especially as the letters of Junius exhibit a minute acquaintance with the affairs of the war office, which could have been obtained only from one of the clerks of the office. It was in 1763, that Sir Philip was appointed to a considerable post in the war office by the secretary. Lord Barrington compelled him to resign in March 1772. Junius, under the signature of Veteran, immediately published a letter on the subject, manifesting his friendship to Mr. Francis, and violently assailing lord Barrington.

In the same month Junius wrote to his printer, Woodfall, that his labors were at an end:—"The difficulty of corresponding arises from situation and

necessity, to which we must submit."—In May he requested a copy of the letters, bound. Junius wrote no more till January 1773. If *Francis* was his sole agent, this silence can be explained, because, it is known, that he was absent during the greater part of the year 1772, travelling on the continent. About the time of his return Woodfall received a private letter from Junius. Signals had been thrown out for some time in the newspaper; but till then Junius could not write:—"I have had good reason for not complying with them." At this time Junius was able to receive the books from Woodfall, which for more than half a year he was not able to receive. It is then very supposable, that Mr. Francis was the "gentleman" employed by lork Sackville in the "conveyancing department." He might have received such obligations, as would bind him to a silence, which, if he was entrusted with the secret, he sacredly preserved. If Mr. Francis did not assist Junius, Mr. D'Oyley, a clerk, who was dismissed about the same time, and who became afterwards private secretary of Sackville, might have furnished the information, with which Junius was supplied, and have been the conveyancer of the letters.

CHAPTER II.

Memoir of Sackville.

That lord George Sackville was the author of the letters of Junius is in my opinion completely established by such a combination of circumstances, as have almost the force of demonstration. These circumstances it will be my business to arrange.

It may be convenient, first, to advert to the history of his life. He was the third son of the first Duke of Dorset, and was born June 26, 1716. He was sent to Westminster school. In 1730, at the age of fourteen, he accompanied his father to Ireland, and was educated at Trinity college, Dublin, where he had a high reputation for his literary attainments. At the age of twenty-one he obtained a commission in the army. In 1738 he accompanied his father to Paris, where he acquired a perfect knowledge of the French language. In 1740 he was lieutenant colonel. In 1742 he went with George II. to Hanover. He distinguished himself at the battle of Dettingen in 1743, and at that of Fontenoy in 1744, in which he received a bullet in his breast. He was at the battle of Culloden in Scotland in

1746. He afterwards served on the continent. In 1749 he was a member of parliament. He was secretary to his father in Ireland in 1751. In September 1754 he married Miss Diana Sambrook of Dover street, by whom he had two sons, Charles and George, and three daughters. In 1755 he was appointed major general, and in 1758 lieutenant general. August 1, 1759, was fought the battle of Minden, at which he was accused of disobeying the orders of prince Ferdinand. He was degraded from office by a court martial, and abused by the king.

Before his trial came on, many pamphlets were published on the two sides of the question. One of them, entitled 'A Letter to a late noble commander of the British forces in Germany,' printed at Edinburgh, and also at London for R. Griffiths, 1759, pages 74, must have had great influence in prejudicing the public against him, as it is written with great ability and elegance. It may well bear a comparison with the most polished and eloquent letters of Junius, ten years afterwards. The writer says:—"The command of those brave bands devolved upon your lordship. Had the public choice directed the appointment, perhaps no one could have been found more likely to discharge the important duty with honor, skill, and fidelity. De-

scended from one of the noblest stocks in the kingdom, one eminently distinguished for loyalty, and yourself honored with the confidence of your sovereign,—who would suspect you of disaffection? Having been tried in action, and your firmness extolled,—who could doubt your courage? of which you are said to bear honorable marks where it is a soldier's pride to show them—in your breast. From the proofs you had given of your abilities here, and in a neighboring kingdom more especially, who could question your capacity?—Noble from your birth, great in your endowments, every thing great and noble was expected from your conduct.

"To your country's detriment, and your own dishonor, the expectations of the public are disappointed. We looked for a commander, and we find a commentator. We depended upon an active warrior, and we meet with an idle disputant; one, who in the field of battle debates upon orders with all the phlegm of an academic, when he ought to execute them with all the vigor and intrepidity of an hero."

Speaking of Sackville's aged father, the writer says—"Though we lament his feelings, we admire his fortitude. Moved with the affection of a tender parent, he adheres to justice with a Roman vigor, and nobly scorns to interpose between an offending son and injured country."

The writer of this masterly letter is unknown. I doubt not that by the study of it Sackville improved his style, however little it may have mended his temper.

The court for the trial of lord Sackville consisted of Sir Charles Howard, president, lieutenant general Campbell, lords Delaware, Cholmondely, Stuart, earls of Panmure, Ancram, Harrington, Abercrombie, Albemarle, major generals Leighton and Carr, earls of Effingham and Belford, lords Robert Manners and Robert Bertie, and Julius Cæsar: Charles Gould, judge advocate. Witnesses against him were prince Ferdinand's Hessian aid de camp, colonel Fitzroy, colonel Sloper, and lord Granby; in his favor, his aid captain Smith, colonel Hotham, captain G. Williams, captain Macbean. At the close of his defence Sackville said, that "those, who had sworn falsely, must feel the ill effects in their own breasts: that he was always ready to obey orders and discharge his duty: and with respect to the present charge, he said, till the court has said I am guilty, I stand here with a conscience innocent, asserting that innocence, which bears testimony for me." The sentence of the court, March or April 1760, was as follows—"The court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, that lord George Sackville is guilty of hav-

ing disobeyed the orders of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom he was by his commission and instructions directed to obey, as commander in chief according to the rules of war: and it is the farther opinion of this court, that the said lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatever."

This sentence was confirmed in orders April 23, 1760, as follows:—"It is his Majesty's pleasure, that the above sentence be given out in public orders, that officers being convinced, that neither high birth, nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature; and that seeing they are subject to censures, much *worse than death*, to a man, who has any sense of honor, they may avoid the fatal consequences, arising from disobedience of orders." On the 25th April his Majesty ordered the name of lord Sackville to be struck out of the list of privy counsellors. May 2d, John, marquis of Granby, was appointed a member of the privy council.

The most important witnesses were the marquis of Granby, colonel Fitzroy, brother to the duke of Grafton, and colonal William Augustus Pitt. These families were assailed by Junius.

The defence of Sackville was this, that contradictory orders were brought to him by the two aids

of prince Ferdinand, and that in this dilemma he immediately repaired to the prince himself in order to ascertain which of the orders he was to obey.

He was in parliament from 1760 till he was called to the House of Lords in 1782; from 1768 he represented the borough of East Grinstead, which he purchased. From 1760 to 1765 he made only one speech. In 1765 he was a member of the Privy Council and appointed one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland. In 1769 he took the name of Germain in consequence of the will of lady Betty Germain, who bequeathed to him £20,000 in personal property, besides valuable estates at Drayton in Northamptonshire, although she was not related to him.

Early in the session of 1770 he became distinguished. "His talents as a declaimer, his eloquence as an orator, his sound reasoning and forcible language soon gained him the applause of the house, although a violent oppositionist to the measures of ministers."

January 22, 1770, he supported for speaker Thomas Townsend, afterwards lord Sydney, his most intimate friend, against Sir Fletcher Norton, the ministerial candidate, who was elected:—"I beg leave to second the noble lord's motion. Mr. Townsend, while the other gentleman has been

practising in the courts below, has been learning business of a superior kind; the business of the nation and this house.—Forms of practice are things very different from rules of right.—A man may be well acquainted with the face of a country, and its divisions, as laid down in a map, without knowing a step of the road to a single market town; and he, that has been used to travel the turnpike road, on journeys of business, may be less acquainted with the shorter cuts through parks, forests, and privileged places, than those, whose situations and connexions have admitted them to the chase, which is regulated by rules very different from paying toll at a turnpike, or bills at an inn. Upon the whole, I should think a minute acquaintance with the practice of courts of law rather a disqualification for the chair in this house."

On a motion, December 6, 1770, in the House of Commons to inquire into the administration of criminal justice, Sackville made an eloquent speech. He said—"Consider, gentlemen, what will be the consequence of refusing this demand, this debt, which you owe to the anxious expectation of the public. The people, seeing *his* [lord Mansfield's] avowed defenders so loth to bring him forth on the public stage, and to make him plead his cause before their tribunal, will naturally conclude,

that he could not bear the light, because his deeds were evil; and that, therefore, you judged it advisable to screen him behind the curtain of a majority. Though his conduct was never questioned in Parliament, *mark how he is every day, and every hour, pointed out in print and conversation, as a perverter of the law, and an enemy of the constitution.* No epithet is too bad for him. Now he is the subtile Scroggs, now, the arbitrary Jeffries. All the records of our courts of law and all the monuments of our lawyers are ransacked, in order to find sufficiently odious names, by which he may be christened. The libellous and virulent spirit of the times has overleaped all the barriers of law, order, and decorum. The judges are no longer revered, and the laws have lost all their salutary terrors. Juries will not convict petty delinquents, when, they suspect, *grand criminals go unpunished.* Hence libels and lampoons, audacious beyond the example of all other times; libels, in comparison of which the North Briton, once deemed the *ne plus ultra* of sedition, is perfect innocence and simplicity. The sacred number, forty-five, formerly the idol of the multitude, is eclipsed by the superior venom of every day's defamation: all its magical and talismanic powers are lost and absorbed in the general deluge of scandal, which pours from the

press. When matters are thus circumstanced, when the judges in general, *and Lord Mansfield in particular*, are there hung out to public scorn and detestation, now that libellers receive no countenance from men high in power, and in the public esteem; what will be the consequence, when it is publicly known, that they have been arraigned, and that their friends quashed the inquiry, which it was proposed to make upon their conduct? The consequence is more easily conceived than expressed. I foresee, that the imps of the press, the sons of ink, and the printers' devils will be all in motion, and they will spare you as little as they will the judges.

"Like the two thieves in the Gospel, both will be hung up and gibbetted, with the law crucified between you, for the entertainment of coffee-house politicians, greasy carmen, porters, and barbers in tippling houses and night cellars. I cannot help thinking, that it is the wish of lord Mansfield himself to have his conduct examined, nay, I collect as much from the language of a gentleman, who may be supposed to know his sentiments. What foundation then is there for obstructing the inquiry? None at all. It is a pleasure to me to see my noble friend discovering such symptoms of conscious innocence. His ideas perfectly co-incide with my

own. I would never oppose the minutest scrutiny into my behavior. However much condemned by the envy or malice of enemies, I would at least show, that I stood acquitted in my own mind. *Qui fugit judicium, ipso teste, reus est.*"

Junius said December 12, in reference to this speech,—"Let it be known to posterity, that when lord Mansfield was attacked with so much vehemence in the House of Commons, not one of the ministry said a word in his defence."

In 1773 he concurred with the ministry in regard to the East India affairs. Early in this year the last letter of Junius to Mr. Woodfall was written.

In a speech on American affairs March 28, 1774, he pointed out the measures necessary to be adopted, and was publicly thanked for his suggestions by lord North, who said—"they were worthy so great a mind." The speech chiefly related to the government of Massachusetts; the following are extracts from it:—"I could have wished, that the noble lord, when he was framing this scheme of salvation, would have at least considered, that there were other parts of the internal government, necessary to be put under some regulation. I mean particularly the internal government of Massachusetts Bay. I wish to see the council of that country on the same footing as other colonies.

There is a degree of absurdity at present in the election of the council. I cannot, Sir, disagree with the noble lord, nor can I think he will do a better thing, than to put an end to their *town meetings*. I would not have men of a mercantile cast consider themselves as ministers of that country. I would not have such men every day collecting themselves together, and debating about political matters. I would have them follow their occupations as merchants, and not consider themselves as ministers.—You have, Sir, no government—no governor; the whole are the proceedings of a tumultuous and riotous rabble, who ought, if they had the least prudence, to follow their mercantile employments, and not trouble themselves with politics and government, which they do not understand.

"We are told by some gentlemen, 'Oh! do not break the charter! do not take away their rights, that are granted to them by the predecessors of the crown!' Whoever, Sir, wishes to preserve such charters, without a due correction and regulation—whoever wishes for such subjects, I wish them no worse than to govern them. Put this people, Sir, on a free footing of government; do not let us be every day asserting our rights by words, and they denying our authority, and preventing the execution of our laws. Let us persevere in refining that gov-

ernment, which cannot support itself, and proceed in the manner we have begun, and I make no doubt, but by a manly and steady perseverance things may be restored from a state of anarchy and confusion to peace, quietude, and a due obedience to the laws of this country."

As Sackville thus supported the measures of the administration in regard to America, and as he had talents and firmness, lord North solicited his aid in the ministry, and he was appointed Secretary for the American department September 7, 1775, in the place of lord Dartmouth removed. Sackville soon appointed Richard Cumberland the under secretary instead of Mr. Pownall, and Mr. D'Oyley his confidential secretary.

That to lord Sackville must be ascribed, in the American revolutionary war, the employment of the Indians, reckless of their barbarous mode of warfare, there is conclusive evidence. Mr. Bisset, in his History of the Reign of king George III, says, —"The plan of the expedition through the wilds of America was concerted in London between general Burgoyne and lord George Germain. It was agreed, that besides regular troops, *Indian savages* should be employed by the British commander." *—

* Bisset, ii, 324.

"The force required by Burgoyne, was 8000 regulars, 2000 Canadians, and 1000 Indians."

After the defeat of Burgoyne Mr. Burke in 1778 moved an inquiry concerning the employment of the Indians. In a debate in the House of Commons December 6, 1779, colonel Barré said,—"He had information, that colonel Butler had been defeated and taken, and the remains of his army and the vanquished Indians had fled for shelter into Niagara; that the Indian towns had been burnt, and probably, that the consequence would be, the total extirpation of the Indians in that part of America. [Here lord George Germain shook his head.] The noble lord might shake his head, if he pleased, but the fact was, as he had stated it; and now that he was up, he would tell the noble lord another particular, which was, that the horrid and cruel war, urged by colonel Butler, was planned at a house in Pall Mall [meaning his lordship's], at the instigation of a certain agent; and what was more extraordinary, to that instant had never been regularly communicated to the cabinet council, or, if it had, not till long after order had been given to carry it into execution. [Lord George Germain shook his head again.] The noble lord was at liberty to give what tokens of dissent he thought proper; but he was *ready to make his assertions good.* He knew colo-

nel Butler, when he served in America; he was a good officer and a worthy man. He did not know, how he had been prevailed upon to undertake so infamous a service, as that of carrying fire and sword into the settlements of his fellow subjects, and permitting those horrid acts, which are the concomitants of this species of war, when savages are gratified with their cruel pastimes and their thirst of human blood."

To this Germain made no answer. It is not easy to reconcile his silence with his innocence. It may be just therefore to associate the name of Sackville and the fame of Junius with the horrors of Wyoming. As Sackville planned the Indian incursions on our frontier settlements, we may suffer William Pitt, the younger, to crown him with merited laurels;— "He was persuaded and would affirm, that it was an accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, unjust, and diabolical war. It was conceived in injustice; it was nurtured and brought forth in folly; its footsteps were marked with blood, slaughter, persecution, and devastation; in truth, every thing, which went to constitute moral depravity and human turpitude, were to be found in it." *

* Pitt's Speech, 1781.—Horace Walpole, in his Correspondence, says, January 15, 1775, he does not wish—'to

As minister, Sackville was immoveable in his purpose of prosecuting the American war to the last extremity in accordance with the views of his sovereign, and determined never to acknowledge the independence of the colonies. In fact his continuance in office and that of North depended on the result of the war. On Sunday November 25, 1781, he received intelligence of the surrender of the British forces at York Town. He immediately rode to lord North's, who received the intelligence 'as he would have taken a ball in his breast,' for he paced his apartment, exclaiming wildly many times, and profanely, not devoutly,—'Oh!—it is all over!' We may well smile at this grief of the prime minister on the loss of his office; for the event, which occasioned his agony, gave independence to America.

Early in February 1782 lord George Germain resigned his office, on which occasion the king, in reward of his faithful services, raised him to the dignity of the peerage, and created him 'Viscount Sackville and Baron Bolebrook.' In consequence of this honor lord Osborne, the Marquis of Carmarthen, made a motion in the House of Lords to

---

breathe out fire and sword against the Americans, like that second duke of Alva—the inflexible lord G.... G.... [George Germain.]'

prevent Sackville from taking his seat, on account of the censure of the court martial, deeming his admission a disgrace to the house. The motion was supported by the earl of Sherburne, the duke of Grafton, the earl of Abingdon, and the duke of of Richmond, but was lost by a vote of 75 to 28.

On this occasion the earl of Abingdon said—"The person, who was the subject of this motion, had been the greatest criminal this country ever knew. He had been the author of all the calamities of the war, and all the distresses, which Great Britain now groaned under. It was to his blood-thirstiness, his weakness, his wickedness, and his mismanagement, that the war had been prosecuted at so large a waste of blood and treasure, and with such a miserable repetition of ill successes. He ought not therefore to be suffered to come into that house and to contaminate the peerage."

A second motion of the marquis of Carmarthen to censure the ministers, who advised his Majesty to bestow the peerage on Saekville, was supported by the duke of Grafton, his brother, lord Southampton (formerly colonel Fitzroy), the earl of Abingdon, the earl of Derby, and the duke of Richmond; but was lost by a great majority. Nearly all who were in the minority, had been attacked by Junius.

The speech of Sackville was powerful, and, as was admitted by his enemies, a speech as dignified, as was ever made within the walls of the house. The following are extracts from it:—"To bestow honors was the peculiar, the indisputable, the admitted prerogative of the crown, when the person, on whom those honors were bestowed, was competent to receive them. He held himself to be in every way competent to receive the honors, he had been so fortunate as to experience at the hands of his royal master, and he was ready to rest the whole of the question on his being able to prove in any manner, in any place, and on any occasion whatever, that he was the person so competent. The motion stated the sentence of the court martial, as the ground of objection to his being made a peer: he was ready to meet the argument on that point, and to contend, that the sentence amounted to no disqualification whatever. The court martial, which pronounced that sentence, had sat two and twenty years ago, and he conceived those of their lordships, and the public in general, who were at all acquainted with the peculiarly hard and unfair circumstances, that had attended his being tried at all, had long been accustomed to see the whole of that business in its true point of view. What had been the temper of those times? Faction and clamor

predominated: they both ran against him, and he had been made the victim of the most unexampled persecution, that ever a British officer had been pursued with. In the first place, he had been condemned unheard, punished before trial. Stripped of all his military honors and emoluments upon mere rumor, upon the malicious suggestions of his enemies, without their having been called upon to exhibit the smallest proof of their loose assertion and acrimonious invective: he stood pointed out to the world, as a man easy to be run down by clamor, and to fall a sacrifice to faction. Thus cruelly circumstanced, thus made to suffer in a manner equally unparalleled and unjust; what had been his conduct? Had he fled, like a guilty man, and hid himself from the world? Many of their lordships well knew, that he had acted in a manner directly opposite. He had challenged his accusers to come forward; he had provoked enquiry; he had insisted upon a trial.—What could their lordships imagine induced him to persevere in this step with so much firmness, but a consciousness of his innocence? It was that and that alone, which bore him up under the cruel difficulties he had to encounter, and that made him submit patiently to the consequence."

—"In 1765 he had been called to the Privy Council, and brought into office. Previous to his ac-

cepting the offers, that were then made to him, of taking a part in the administration of that day, it had been agreed, that he should be first called to the Council-board, which he had ever considered as a virtual repeal of the sentence of the court-martial. He had continued a member of the Privy Council for ten years without hearing a word of the court-martial, or its being thought by any means a disqualification. Several years ago his Majesty had honored him so far, as to appoint him to the high office of Secretary of State, an office, which he had filled ever since, without hearing a word of the sentence. Let their lordships then consider the hardship of that sentence being urged against him, as a disqualification for a seat in that house, which had been deemed no disqualification whatever of his being a privy counsellor and a secretary of state; two situations surely of more dignity and of more importance, considering the form of the British constitution, than even a peerage, high and dignified as the honor undoubtedly was: nor did the matter of hardship merely consist in bringing the sentence forward now, but the making it a ground of censure. Would their lordships sanction, confirm, and aggravate a sentence, pronounced by a court-military, without having the whole of the case before them? That would be to make the military

law, sufficiently severe as it confessedly was at present, ten times more severe, by annexing to its judgment the censure of a civil court of judicature.

"From the time he was called to the Privy Council to the present moment, and especially since he had accepted of that high office, he had endeavored to serve his king and country to the best of his judgment. He would not pretend to cope with any man in respect to abilities: there were many, he was persuaded, more able than himself; but there were points, in which he would not yield to all, who had before been in the service of the crown. He defied any man to prove, that the public ever had a servant, who had showed more unremitting assiduity, more close attention to the duties of his situation, or more zeal for promoting the interests of the country, than he had done, from the moment of his accepting the high office, he had lately filled till his resignation of it.

"With regard to the court-martial, it was impossible for him to procure a revision of the proceeding: it happened two and twenty years since, and every member, who sat upon it, excepting two very respectable characters, lord Robert Manners and lord Bertie, had been dead and buried long ago: any attempt to investigate the motives, which

actuated the several members of the court, was now impracticable; but after what he had said, he flattered himself, their lordships, in general, would agree with him, that he was a person competent to receive the honors his Majesty had been graciously pleased to bestow upon him;—and that it was neither expedient, necessary, nor becoming for that house to fly in the face of the indisputable prerogative of the crown, merely because the crown thought proper to bestow a reward on an old servant."

It was with difficulty Sackville was restrained from challenging the marquis of Carmarthen. Cumberland says—"The well known circumstances, that occurred upon the event of his elevation to the peerage, made a deep and painful impression on his feeling mind; and if his seeming patience under the infliction of it should appear to merit, in a moral sense, the name of virtue, *that* he had no title to be credited for, inasmuch as it was entirely owing to the influence of some, who overruled his propensities, and made themselves responsible for his honor, that he did not betake himself to the same abrupt, unwarrantable mode of dismissing this insult, as he had resorted to in a former instance."

He yielded to the remonstrances of some of his nearest friends, particularly of lord Amherst. Cum-

berland adds, with a mixture of absurdity and truth, —"Though possessing one of the *best and kindest hearts*, that ever beat within a human breast, he was with difficulty diverted from resorting a second time to that desperate remedy, which modern empirics have prescribed for wounds of a peculiar sort, oftentimes imaginary and always to be cured by patience."

During the remainder of his days Sackville lived at Drayton in Northamptonshire, or at Bolebrook near Tunbridge Wells, but principally at his beautiful mansion, Stoneland Park, now Buckhurst Park, near the parish of Withyham in Sussex. Though suffering much by a painful malady, the stone, he was very punctual in all his domestic arrangements. According to Mr. Cumberland—"As sure as the hand of the clock pointed to the half hour after nine, did the good lord of the castle step into his breakfast room, accoutred at all points, according to his own invariable costume, with a complacent countenance, that prefaced his good morning to each person there assembled.—He allowed an hour and an half for breakfast, and regularly at 11 took his morning's circuit on horseback at a foot's-pace, for his infirmity would not allow of a strong gestation. He never rode out without preparing himself with a store of sixpences in his waistcoat pocket

for the children of the poor, who opened gates and drew out sliding bars for him in his passage through the enclosures."

He was very kind to the poor cottagers, his tenants, replacing their losses, and furnishing relief in sickness.

"To his religious duties this good man was not only regularly but respectfully attentive. On the Sunday morning he appeared in gala, as if he were dressed for a drawing-room; he marched out his whole family in grand cavalcade to his parish church, leaving only a centinel to watch the fires at home, and mount guard upon the spits. His deportment in the house of prayer was exemplary, and more in character of times past than of time present. He had a way of standing up in sermon time, for the purpose of reviewing the congregation and awing the idlers into decorum, that never failed to remind me of Sir Roger de Coverley at church. Sometimes, when he has been struck with passages in the discourse, which he wished to point out to the audience as rules for moral practice worthy to be noticed, he would mark his approbation of them with such cheering nods and signals of assent to the preacher, as were often more than my muscles could withstand.—In his zeal to encourage a very young preacher, the Rev. Henry Eatoff, I heard him cry

out, to the overthrow of all gravity, in the middle of the sermon, 'Well done, Harry!' It was irresistible. Yet he had an unmoved sincerity of manner; and was surprised, that any thing provoked laughter."

"He had nursed up with no small care and cost, in each of his parish churches, a corps of rustic psalm-singers, to whose performances he paid the greatest attention, rising up, and with his eyes directed to the singing-gallery, marking time, which was not always rigidly adhered to; and once, when his ear, which was very correct, had been tortured by a tone most glaringly discordant, he set his mark upon the culprit by calling out to him by name, and loudly saying, 'Out of tune, Tom Baker!' Now this faulty musician, Tom Baker, happened to be his lordship's butcher; but then, in order to set names and trades upon a par, Tom Butcher was his lordship's baker; which, I observed to him, was much such a reconcilement of cross-partners, as my illustrious friend, George Faulkner, hit upon, when in his Dublin Journal he printed,—'Erratum in our last—For His Grace the Duchess of Dorset, *read*, Her grace the Duke of Dorset.'

"He died August 26, 1785, at Stoneland, aged 69 years. It was not long after he had made an able speech on the Irish question. A few days before his death, he inquired 'if lord Mansfield was then at

the Wells,' and solicited an interview. Being visited by Mansfield, he, as a dying man, very solemnly asked his forgiveness. A becoming and satisfactory reply was made; and the visiter departed.

"As I knew he had been some time meditating upon his preparations to receive the sacrament, and death seemed near at hand, I reminded him of it; he declared himself ready; in one instance only, he confessed, it cost him a hard struggle. What that instance was, he needed not to explain to me, nor am I careful to explain to any. I trust, according to the infirmity of man's nature, he is rather to be honored for having finally extinguished his resentment, than condemned for having fostered it too long. A Christian saint would have done it sooner; how many men would not have done it ever!

"The Rev. Mr. Sackville Bayle, his worthy parish priest, and ever faithful friend, administered the solemn office of the sacrament to him, reading at his request the prayers for a communicant at the point of death. He had ordered all his bed curtains to be opened and the sashes thrown up, that he might have air and space to assist him in his efforts; what they were, with what devotion he joined in those solemn prayers, that warn the parting spirit to dismiss all hopes, that centre in this world, that reverend friend can witness. I also was a witness and a

partaker: none else was present at that holy ceremony."

A brass plate on his coffin in the vault of the church is the only record of "George Viscount Sackville and Baron Bolebrook." No monumental marble is entrusted with his name; yet, if it shall be proved, that he was the author of the letters of JUNIUS, his name may have an imperishable honor in the memory of the admirers of intellect and genius, and an imperishable infamy in the memory of all, who detest the malignant passions and the struggles of misguided and low ambition.

CHAPTER III.

Presumptive Argument to show, that Sackville was Junius.

1. The *suspicion* of being the author of Junius rested at the time more on lord *George Sackville*, than on any other person.—It has already been stated, that on the denial of Burke, Sir William Draper transferred his suspicions entirely to Sackville. Mr. Woodfall, the printer, at times suspected Sackville. Others entertained the same belief. An able writer, under the signature of Titus, in defending the marquis of Granby against Junius, says of him—"He knows how to obey: he knows, that a good soldier never *disputes the commands of his superior*."—Also, —"It matters not, whether the malicious dart be pointed from the closet of a disgraced soldier," &c. "You know, Junius, that he feared not to lead on the cavalry at Minden." Here are obvious intimations, that the writer believed lord Sackville to be the author of the letters of Junius. This general suspicion ought to be considered as of much weight, inasmuch as many grounds for the belief may have existed at the time, which are now lost, and as con-

temporaries were the best judges of talents and motives and of all the probabilities of the case.

2. Lord *George Sackville* possessed the requisite talents and learning.—I am aware, that Richard Cumberland, who was secretary under Sackville, has expressed his belief, that his lordship was deficient in classical attainments and was incapable of writing the letters of Junius. But of his qualifications others, who knew his lordship at an earlier period, were more competent to judge. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and having afterwards much leisure, no one can imagine, that lord Sackville could not easily have made that acquaintance, with the classical writers of antiquity, which Junius exhibits. As to his intellectual powers the testimony is ample. Lord Orford, speaking of Sackville in 1758, says—he was "now rising to a principal figure. His abilities in the House of Commons and his interest with Pitt gave him great weight in government."—He said also—"Lord G. Sackville was a man of very sound parts, of distinguished bravery, and of as *honorable eloquence:*"—and speaking of a commission of inquiry, in which Sackville was associated in 1757 with the duke of Marlborough and general Waldegrave, he remarks, that he "was more than a balance to the other two in abilities."—Sir N. Wraxall says, "Mr. Pitt styled lord George

Germain the Agamemnon of the day;"—also in regard to his speech on a motion relating to his being created a viscount—"His enemies confessed, that never was a more able, dignified, or manly appeal made within the walls of the House of Peers, than lord Sackville pronounced on that occasion." A writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, September 1785, speaks of him as "a man of extraordinary talent,"—his pen is said to be "all-powerful;"—"he had the art of painting in words to a very eminent degree, and which afforded the finest ornaments in either poetry, history, or elocution." In the debates in the House of Commons from 1775 to 1782 he displayed signal abilities. He entered the lists with Fox. Even Mr. Cumberland remarks, that he "never suffered the clearness of his conceptions to be clouded by any obscurity of expressions."

Mr. Bisset says of Sackville,—"This nobleman, after his retirement from military life, had devoted himself to political affairs; he was an acute reasoner, and a respectable speaker, distinguished for closeness of argument, precision, and neatness of language. He had been principally connected with Mr. Grenville, supported him when he was minister, and followed him into opposition. He had vindicated the supremacy of parliament, voted against the

stamp act, and against its repeal; and had shown himself extremely inimical to the Grafton administration. From that circumstance, together with his *reputed abilities*, he was by many deemed the author of Junius. For several years after Mr. Grenville's death he had continued in opposition; but in 1773 he joined the ministry in the East India affairs, and took a decided part in the coercive measures of 1774 and 1775."*

Lord Walsingham, in defending the elevation of Germain to the peerage, said of him—"His abilities are equal to those of most men and I believe inferior to none." Lord Shelburne charged him with having failed as to the war, but gave him credit for having held a "more manly style of language, than any other minister, and with having acted uniformly with the nicest feelings, the strictest honor, the most unimpeachable integrity, and the *most distinguished abilities*."

Sir N. Wraxall says—"In business lord George Germain was rapid, yet clear and accurate; rather negligent in his style, which was that of a gentleman and a man of the world, unstudied and frequently careless, even in his official despatches. But there was no obscurity or ambiguity in his compositions."

* Bisset, ii, 219.

3. Lord *George Sackville* felt the Influence of those strong *Motives*, which only can account for the letters of Junius.—The writer was evidently stimulated by bitter personal hostility towards those, whom he assailed,—by keen indignation, arising from a sense of wrong,—and at the same time by an irrepressible ambition and desire of gaining for himself office or rank. The hostility and indignation are every where seen in the letters. The ambition and thirst for power must be supposed in order to account for his persevering attempt to overthrow the ministry; but it is betrayed in his private letters. In one to Woodfall he says—"I doubt much, whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but, if things *take the turn I expect*, you shall know me *by my works*."—"*It is true I have refused offers*, which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted."—The *expected turn* was doubtless a revolution in the ministry; and the *works* alluded to may be the great things he should accomplish, after he should gain a high office. In his first letter to Wilkes he says—"Though I do not disclaim the idea of some personal views to *future honor and advantage*, yet I can truly say, that neither are they little in themselves," &c.

The natural temper of Sackville was irascible, and after his unjust degradation from military rank and service, he would feel indignant towards all, who contributed in any way to his disgrace.

The marquis of Granby, who is attacked in the first letter of Junius, was under Sackville at the battle of Minden. He was commended by prince Ferdinand at the expense of Sackville :—"I regret, that the marquis of Granby had not the command of the British cavalry. Had he commanded I make no doubt the success of the day had been much more complete and brilliant."—The duke of Grafton is assaulted by Junius with the utmost violence; the principal witness against lord Sackville was colonel Fitzroy, brother of the duke of Grafton.—Junius assails lord Mansfield;—the judge was the legal adviser of lord Sackville before his trial, and assured him, that he could not be condemned. He was mistaken in his opinion, and Sackville might even suspect him of treachery.—Junius maintained the necessity of impeaching Mansfield; and Sackville in a speech, December 6, 1770, supported a motion to inquire into the administration of criminal justice.—Junius had an embittered hostility towards Scotchmen; it appears, that a majority of the officers, constituting the court martial for the trial of lord George, were Scotch-

men. He had also passed a year in Scotland in the campaign against the rebels.—The most conspicuous persons attacked by Junius, are the men, who were the agents in Sackville's disgrace, or who succeeded to the places, which he held, or gained the offices, which he might well expect: —the marquis of Granby, colonel Fitzroy, lord George Townsend, lord Charles Manners, the duke of Bedford, and others.—Of Sackville's ambition nothing need be said.

4. The author of Junius had been a *soldier*, as Sackville had been.—In a private letter, August 25, 1767, Junius says of the *Townsends*— "I am not a stranger to this *par nobile fratrum*. I have *served under the one* and have been forty times promised to be served by the other." It is known, that he served *with* lord Townsend at Dettingen.—The perpetual military allusions in Junius prove, that the writer had been a soldier. Of instances the following may be given:—"That was the *salient* point, from which all the mischiefs and disgraces of the present reign took life and motion."—"Place them in the *post of danger, to prevent desertion*."—"The wary Wedderburne, the pompous Suffolk, never *threw away the scabbard*, nor *ever went upon a forlorn hope*." —"If you consider the dignity of the *post he*

deserted, you will hardly think it decent to *quarter* him on Mr. Rigby."—"I may quit the service, but it would be absurd to suspect me of desertion."—"We cannot hinder their *desertion*, but we can prevent their *carrying over their arms* to the service of the enemy."—"Not daring to attack the *main body* of Junius' last letter, he triumphs in having, as he thinks, *surprised* an *outpost* and *cut off* a *detached* argument, a mere *straggling* proposition. But even in this *petty warfare* he shall find himself *defeated*."—"His palace is *besieged;* the *lines of circumvallation* are drawing round him."—I could exhibit many more such military allusions, were it necessary. I think these prove the writer to have been a soldier. This is also proved by the intimate acquaintance of Junius with the affairs of the war office and the concerns of the army. Who but a soldier could possibly feel, as Junius felt, on the appointment of Mr. Luttrell as adjutant general:—"The insult offered to the *army in general* is as gross, as the outrage intended to the people of England. *What!* lieutenant colonel Luttrell adjutant general of an army of sixteen thousand men!"—

5. Lord *Sackville* had the friendships and animosities, which are indicated by the letters of Junius.—By the letter of September 20, 1768 and other

letters it appears, that Junius was the *friend of Sir Jeffery Amherst*:—"You have sent Sir Jeffery Amherst to the plough," &c. It is understood, that Sackville and Amherst were intimate from childhood; they lived together in Ireland; and, after Sackville became secretary of state Amherst was appointed commander in chief and created a baron. Sir Jeffery had a brother, to whom the name of *Sackville* was given.

From Junius' letter of August 22, 1770, it appears, that he was the friend of colonel Cunninghame, adjutant general of Ireland.—Lord Sackville became acquainted with Cunninghame during the campaign in Scotland, and, it is believed, was always friendly to him.

Junius, as appears by his letters August 6, 1768, and December 15, 1768, and January 21, 1770, was an admirer of Mr. Grenville. Lord Sackville, if not personally acquainted with Mr. Grenville, yet had for him a political friendship. He said February 25, 1774, in a speech—"The author of this bill, Mr. G., had preserved a good name, while in office, and when out: and he sincerely hoped the noble lord would endeavor to have his name handed down to posterity, with the same honor, as Mr. Grenville had."

Junius expresses a respect for the character of Mr. Sawbridge, and recommends his appointment as lord mayor, in a letter to Wilkes. On the success of Mr. Nash he says in a letter to Mr. Woodfall—"What an abandoned, prostituted idiot is *your* lord mayor?"

Now it is known, that Sackville was on terms of friendship with Mr. Sawbridge. Their estates were contiguous in Kent, adjoining that of lord Amherst. Sackville represented Hythe from 1760 to 1768, when he resigned in favor of Mr. Sawbridge, and by his exertions procured his election.

Junius in February, 1772, speaks of "general Fowke as a brave and worthy man." It is known, that Sackville was the friend of the general.

Junius was at first very hostile to the earl of Chatham, although he at last bestowed upon him his high commendation. It appears, that Sackville had offended Mr. Pitt:—for having been sent, with the duke of Marlborough, on an expedition to the coast of France, and afterwards being offered by Mr. Pitt the command of the expedition to St. Cas, he replied imprudently—"he was tired of *buccaneering*." He insisted upon going to Germany; but his sarcasm was remembered. It was during the administration of Mr. Pitt, that his disgrace occurred. Mr. Pitt immediately adopted the senti-

ments of prince Ferdinand, and prosecuted the German war with vigor. Sackville regarded the war as utterly ineffectual and foolish.

Junius violently attacked the duke of Bedford. One cause of Sackville's enmity to the family is alluded to by lord Orford :—"The house of Bedford, from reasons of family, were not his well-wishers. The sister of the duchess of Bedford had married lord John Sackville, and had quarrelled with lord George. "Another reason was, that on the duke was bestowed an office in Ireland, of which Sackville, at the time of his disgrace, was deprived.

The hostility of Junius to the princess Dowager and lord Bute is evident from the letter of 19 December, 1769 and other letters. After Sackville's disgrace, although he had been familiar with the prince of Wales, afterwards George III., yet he was prohibited from seeing him by the princess Dowager and lord Bute. The attack of lord Bute by the North Briton shortly afterwards is in correspondence with the indignant feelings of Sackville.

6. It can hardly be doubted, that Junius was a member of the House of Commons, as was Sackville.—Junius says, 28 May, 1770—"The speaker began with pretended ignorance, and ended with deciding for the ministry. *We* were not surprised at the decision; but he hesitated and blushed at his

own baseness, and every man was astonished."—22 April, 1771.—"Yet *we have seen him in the House of Commons* overwhelmed with confusion and almost bereft of his faculties."—13 December, 1770—"The exclusion is made general; their lordships very properly considering, that the members of the *House of Commons* are no more fit to be trusted with the debates of a public assembly, than the spies or emissaries of a foreign ambassador, or so many Jesuits in disguise."—19 November, 1770—"A few days ago I was in a *large public company*, where there happened some curious conversation.—*He* [the secretary at war] *assured us*, that after having carefully, &c.—and for fear *we* should not believe him, repeated and enforced his assertion five several times." August 15, 1771—"*My note* will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or a seat in the cabinet."—October 5, 1771.—"I willingly accept of a sarcasm from colonel Barré, or a simile from Mr. Burke; even the silent vote of Mr. Calcraft is worth reckoning in a division."

7. Lord *Sackville* held the political sentiments, expressed by Junius.—That Junius was an advocate of *triennial* parliaments appears by his letter of September 7, 1771. A motion for triennial parliaments was lost in the House of Commons March 4, 1772,

by a large majority, but Sackville voted in favor of it.—Junius supported the *American stamp act;* of which he says in his letter December 19, 1767,—"The people, who were most clamorous against it, either never understood, or wilfully misrepresented every part of it." Lord Sackville, in reply to Burke March 7, 1774, said—The honorable gentleman has extolled "those, who advised the repeal of the stamp act. For my part—*I was of opinion, that it should not be repealed, and voted accordingly.*"—"The people there must and would have returned to their obedience, if the stamp act had not been unfortunately repealed." (Cobbett's Parl. Deb.)—Junius was in favor of repealing the duty on tea:—"It ought to be repealed as an impolitic act, not as an oppressive one." Letter to Wilkes 7 September, 1771. Lord Sackville said January 26, 1775—"If the Americans would petition for their repeal, he would stretch forth the first hand to present it; but, on the contrary, if they claimed such a repeal as a *right*, thereby disputing the authority of the mother country, which no reasonable man ever called in question, he wished it might be enforced with a Roman severity."—Junius was opposed "to cutting away the rotten boroughs." Letter September 7, 1771. It is *probable*, lord Sackville was of

the same opinion, for he sat in parliament for his own borough of East Grinstead.

8. Junius was not an Irishman, yet had lived in Ireland,—as was the case with lord Sackville.—Junius speaks of the *Irish* as "a *barbarous people*," in his letter September 16, 1767.—He says also—"a blush seldom tinges those happy countenances, which have been bathed in the Liffey," June 16, 1769. He speaks also of Englishmen and dedicates his letters to the *English nation*. After mentioning the people of England, he adds—*our countrymen*.—He alludes also ironically to '*Irish virtue*,' November 27, 1771.

Some reasons for believing, that Junius had lived in Ireland, have already been given. In respect to his language he had himself been dipped in the waters of "the Liffey." He was tinged so early, that with all his care he could not get rid entirely of the hue. Sackville in the use of the word *so* is rather Irish than English :—"We have had no letters from Holland for some days, *so* we do not know, whether the French have attempted any thing."—Letter January 15, 1748.

9. Junius was not a lawyer, but a gentleman of rank and independent fortune; which may be affirmed of lord Sackville.—"Though I use the terms of art, do not injure me so much, as to sus-

pect I am a lawyer,—I had as lief be a Scotchman." Letter to Wilkes September 18, 1771. He has other keen remarks concerning lawyers.—In his letter of April 12, 1769, Junius says—"You, I think, may be satisfied, that my *rank and fortune* place me above a *common* bribe." This letter, for some reason, though signed by the name of Junius, was omitted on the publication of the letters in a volume; probably because it might awaken suspicions as to the *rank* of the writer.—In his letter to Sir William Draper he says—"I should have hoped, that *even my name* might carry some authority with it, if I had not seen," &c.—Now, would a person, whose name was actually of no weight in the world, be likely to write in this manner?—I think it also incredible, that any person should speak of king George III., as Junius spake of him, unless he was a man of *rank*, who had lived in personal intercourse with him, if not when king, yet before:—"I know *that man* much better than any of you. Nature intended him only for a *good-humored fool*. A systematical education, with long practice, has made him a consummate hypocrite." Letter 24 July, 1771. Mr. Coventry states, that Sackville had "an opportunity of knowing the disposition, talents, and character of the young king, from having been so much in his company previous to his disgrace." If lord

George Sackville had a few years before repaired very humbly to court to kiss the hands of this *fool* and *hypocrite*, "whom every honest man should detest," it will be more easy to find an explanation in the temper of a courtier and the meanness of ambibition, than to account for such language concerning his king from a person, who had never had intercourse with him.

As to his *fortune*, Junius would never receive any of the profits of the Letters, though offered by Woodfall. He said—"I am far above all pecuniary views." He also assured Woodfall, in reference to a prosecution,—"in point of money be assured you shall never suffer."

10. One of the letters of Junius had written upon it, near the signature, the words *Pall Mall;* in which street, it is known, was the house of lord Sackville. A letter of Sackville to lord Viscount Bateman is dated thus—"Pall Mall, September 18, 1759." The letter of Junius, referred to, is dated May 8, 1772, addressed to Woodfall. It was doubtless through inadvertence, and not by intention, that he wrote Pall Mall; which evidently betrays the place of his residence. Who else lived in Pall Mall, that has ever been suspected of writing the letters of Junius?

11. In a confidential letter to Woodfall Junius says—"That Swinney is a wretched but a dangerous fool: he had the impudence to go to lord Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of Junius—take care of him." This was but a day or two before the letter was written. If Junius was not Sackville, how could he know, that Swinney had never spoken to Sackville; and why should he use the terms *impudence* and *fool?*

12. The deep anxiety for concealment, and the fixed resolution, that his secret should die with him, expressed by Junius, may very properly be ascribed to lord Sackville.—Speaking of his secret, Junius says—"All arts, or inquiries, or rewards will be equally ineffectual."—"Upon no account—are you to write to me until I give you notice."—"Tell me candidly whether you know or suspect who I am."—"I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way to my destruction." He said also, that he was sure he should not survive a discovery three days. In his dedication he says—"I am the sole depository of my own secret, and it shall perish with me."

If lord Sackville was the writer, he had indeed strong reasons for concealment. A discovery, if it should lead to nothing worse, would blast all his

prospects or hopes of elevation to office, and of effacing the undeserved infamy of the sentence of the court martial. And after he had compassed his aims; and had been one of the ministers during the revolutionary war, and had been raised by king George to a peerage:—with what face could he acknowledge himself the author of letters, in which that most Gracious Monarch was called from personal knowledge "*a good-natured fool*" and a "consummate *hypocrite;*" and in which he says of him, that he is "as callous as a stock-fish to every thing but the reproach of *cowardice*. That alone is able to set the humors afloat. After a paper of that kind he won't eat meat for a week."

13. Lord *Sackville*, just before his death, spoke of his being suspected of having written the letters of Junius. Richard Cumberland, his secretary, says —"I never heard, that my friend, lord George Germain, was amongst the suspected authors, till by *way of jest he told me so not many days before his death:* I did not want him to disavow it, for there could be no occasion to disprove an absolute impossibility. The man, who wrote it, had a savage heart, for some of his attacks are execrable; he was a hypocrite, for he disavows private motives, and makes pretensions to a patriotic spirit."

But why should an aged man, just sinking into the grave, be inclined to jest at all; or why should he, if not the writer, recur to an unfounded suspicion of having written those letters a dozen or fifteen years before? But if he *was* the writer; then, as he was about to carry with him the grand secret, which had been the burden of his heart for so many years, it would occupy many of his thoughts; and he might wish to know once more, whether any suspicion in regard to him lingered in the world;—and therefore might have spoken on the subject to Cumberland. If Cumberland uttered to him, what he has said in his book, concerning the "savage heart" and "hypocrisy" of the author; the dying, old man would have derived very little consolation from his remarks. With right views he must have felt, that he had purchased his peerage very dearly, and effaced from his character one blot by means of one still deeper. Yet amidst the commingling of motives and passions in human conduct, the author of Junius, while his first aim was his own elevation, might have experienced very just sentiments of indignation, if not of contempt, towards men, whose profligacy he knew; and might also have been influenced by *some* fixed principles of politics. Yielding him all, that can be allowed, I have however formed a poor estimate of the moral character of

lord Sackville. I cannot envy his feelings, as the vanities of the world were disappearing from before his eyes.

14. Lord Sackville's last interview with lord Mansfield is in my opinion a proof, that he was the author of the letters of Junius.

Sackville had not been on terms of intimacy with Mansfield for some years. Yet hearing, that he was at Tunbridge Wells, he requested an interview at his own house before he died. Accordingly lord Mansfield repaired to Stoneland. As lord Sackville came in from riding and entered the room, he staggered, and there was such a death-like character in his countenance, as disturbed lord Mansfield and seemed to strike him with horror. Sackville made an apology for the trouble, he had given him, but said he,—"My good lord, though I ought not to have imposed upon you the painful ceremony of paying a last visit to a dying man; yet so great was my anxiety to return you my unfeigned thanks for all your goodness to me, all the kind protection you have shown me through the course of my unprosperous life, that I could not know you was so near me, and not wish to assure you of the *invariable respect*, I have entertained for your character, and now in the most serious manner to solicit your forgiveness, if ever in the fluctuations of politics or the heats of

party I have appeared in your eyes, at any moment of my life, unjust to your great merits or forgetful of your many favors."—Lord Mansfield made a becoming and satisfactory reply; and then withdrew.

This speech, which Mr. Cumberland wrote down at the time, must be allowed to be a very extraordinary and mysterious one, especially as it is not known, that Sackville had received favors from Mansfield. But if we regard lord Sackville as the author of Junius, the mystery will be cleared up.

Let us say, that Sackville, in the letters of Junius, had attacked lord Mansfield with the utmost vehemence.—"The designs of Mansfield are more subtle, more effectual, and secure.—Who attacks the liberty of the press?—Lord Mansfield.—Who invades the constitutional power of juries?—Lord Mansfield.—What judge ever challenged a juryman but lord Mansfield?" &c.—At the close of his long letter to Mansfield he says,—"Considering the situation and abilities of lord Mansfield, I do not scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to God for my sincerity, that, in my judgment, he is the very worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom. Thus far I have done my duty in endeavoring to bring him to punishment. But mine is an inferior ministerial office in the temple of justice.—I have bound the victim, and dragged him to the altar."—

Such was the attempt to cause him to be impeached and ruined. And now the author of this attack, a believer in Christianity, perceives, that he is about to appear before God, who has forbidden the emotions and acts of hostility and the language of reviling,—and he feels it to be a duty to make some concessions to the man, whom he had ferociously attacked and deeply injured, and to ask his forgiveness. He sends for him. Yet he cannot explain the precise thing, which lies as a burden on the mind. He deals in generalities, and asks his pardon, '*if* he has ever appeared in his eyes to be unjust to his great merits!' If Mansfield had no suspicion, that lord Sackville was the author of the letters of Junius, such a speech from the dying man must have overwhelmed him with astonishment.

I think, there was here an amazing struggle between stern pride and the dread of the future, founded on a belief of the truth and some view of the nature of the Christian religion. But unless Sackville was Junius, it is not known, that he had any clamorous occasion to reconcile himself to lord Mansfield.

If the circumstances, which have been mentioned, be now brought together, they will, I am convinced, be found to make a very strong case, and to render it extremely probable, that lord George Sackville

was the author of the letters of Junius. Let any other man be supposed to be the writer, and I believe it will be impossible to bring together circumstances, which will create any thing of a probability like this.

CHAPTER IV.

Argument from the Comparison of Sackville's "Address" with the Letters of Junius.

I NOW proceed to an argument, which has never been touched upon and is entirely new; an argument of still greater weight, if possible, than the circumstances stated, but, when combined with them, rendering it, in my opinion, certain beyond any reasonable doubt, that Sackville's secret, though he kept it faithfully, is no longer such. The argument, I speak of, is founded on co-incidences of style between lord Sackville and Junius so striking, as to compel conviction.

In September, 1759, lord Sackville published a "Short Address" to the public, which I read many years ago in Smollett's Continuation of Hume's History of England. Short as this address is, I found in it many indications of the pen of Junius, and drew up then a paper on the subject, which is now before me, and from which I take the following comparison. I am sensible, that the whole should be viewed together; and then the inquiry be made,

whether the co-incidence is not remarkable? A *modern* writer may imitate Junius and adopt his phrases. Junius, if he was not Sackville, would not have studied his Address for the purpose of imbibing its style. The Address, it must be remembered, *preceded* the Letters of Junius about ten years.

ADDRESS. "I *had rather*, upon this occasion, *submit myself* to all the inconveniences," &c.

JUNIUS. "You are partial, perhaps, to the military mode of execution, and *had rather* see a score of these wretches butchered."—"Willingly *submit myself* to the judgment of my peers."

ADDRESS. "Torrent of calumny and abuse, which has been so maliciously *thrown out* against me."

JUNIUS. "Scandalous imputations, *thrown out* by the abettors of lord Mansfield."

ADDRESS. "Had he condescended *to have inquired* into my conduct."

JUNIUS. "*To have supported* your assertion you should have proved."

ADDRESS. "Prove my innocence, *beyond the possibility of a doubt*."

JUNIUS. "When he sees, *beyond the possibility of a doubt*, that" &c.

ADDRESS. "Though I am debarred at present from *stating my case to the public*."

JUNIUS. "Examine your conduct as a minister and *stating it fairly to the public.*"—"The following fact,—has not yet been clearly *stated to the public.*"

ADDRESS. "The oaths of witnesses, whose *veracity cannot be called in question.*"

JUNIUS. "You will not *question my veracity.*"

ADDRESS. "As I should have *done*, had I not assurances."

JUNIUS. "Will run the hazards, that he has *done.*"

ADDRESS. "When *real facts* are *truly* stated and fully proved."

JUNIUS. "The *truth* of his *facts* is of more importance."—"False in argument, *true* in *fact.*"—"Your first *fact* is *false.*"—"To inquire into the truth of the *facts.*"—"Found every circumstance *stated*, to be literally *true.*"

ADDRESS. "I had either failed *in*, or neglected my duty."—"What can an injured officer have recourse *to*, but claiming that justice," &c.

JUNIUS. "Dreadful battles, which he might have been engaged *in*, and the dangers," &c.—"A weakness we may indulge *in*, if," &c.—"Would then have known what they had to trust *to*, and would never," &c.—"Is at least as much as you

are equal *to*."—" Strictly conformable *to*, and founded *upon* the ancient law."

ADDRESS. " The many *falsehoods*, which have been *asserted*."

JUNIUS. " Convinced of the *falsehood* of his *assertions*."—" Let sophistry evade, let *falsehood assert*."

ADDRESS. " I had rather submit—to inconveniences, that may arise from the want of *style*, than borrow assistance from the pens of others."

JUNIUS. " I will not contend with you in point of *composition;* you are a *scholar*, Sir William."—" As for his *style*, I shall leave it to the critics."—" He may want *eloquence* to amuse."—" It does not appear, that Junius values himself upon any superior *skill in composition*."

ADDRESS. " That if I am guilty, I may suffer such punishment, as I may have deserved; and, if innocent, that I may stand acquitted in the opinion of the world; but it is really too severe to have been censured unheard, to have been condemned before I was tried, and to be informed neither of my crime nor my accusers."

" But if plans of a battle are to be referred to, which can give no just idea of it; if dispositions of the cavalry and infantry are supposed, which never existed; if orders for attacks and pursuits are quot-

ed, which never were delivered; and if disobedience to those *imaginary* orders are asserted as a crime; what can an injured officer, under such circumstances, have recourse to, but claiming that justice, which is due to every Englishman, of being heard before he is condemned?

JUNIUS. "Even the best of princes may at last discover, that this is a contention, in which every thing may be lost but nothing can be gained; and as you became minister by accident, were adopted without choice, trusted without confidence, and continued without favor, be assured, that, whenever an occasion presses, you will be discarded without even the forms of regret."—"But, my lord, you may quit the field of business, though not the field of danger, and though you cannot be safe, you may cease to be ridiculous."—"To write for profit without taxing the press; to write for fame and to be unknown; to support the intrigues of faction and to be owned as a dangerous auxiliary by every party in the kingdom; are contradictions, which the minister must reconcile, before I forfeit my credit with the public."

In the last sentences, quoted from Sackville's Address, I am persuaded every one, who is accustomed to observe peculiarities of style, will see the very spirit of Junius. Doubtless some one of the

antecedent phrases and constructions may be found in other writers. But can all of them be found in any writer of that period, especially in so short a piece as the Address, combined with the antithesis, point, and force of the quoted sentences, so characteristic of Junius?

CHAPTER V.

Argument from the Comparison of the "Considerations."

In 1760 there was published at London a pamphlet of 144 pages, entitled, "*Considerations on the Present German War*," which there is every reason to believe was written by lord Sackville. It appeared the year after the battle of Minden, and exposes the folly of the German war, presenting such views, as lord Sackville would be likely to entertain. It was very popular and soon reached a third edition. Many answers to it were published: in one of them the author is addressed as "Mr., or *my lord*, Considerer," which perhaps is an intimation, that lord Sackville was regarded as the author. The Critical Review for January 1761, in reviewing one of these answers, bestows some praise upon it, but adds—"We doubt not, however, but the Considerer will be able to weather this storm with the same facility he has hitherto withstood all the *blasts of popular clamor*, and the destruction aimed at his head by an incensed multitude." Here is, doubtless, a refer-

ence to lord Sackville.—The same Review warmly commends the work, as containing "a great fund of entertainment, instruction, curious intelligence, shrewd observation, laudable spirit, and real knowledge;" and two years afterwards says, that not one fact or argument has been yet disproved or refuted.

I propose to point out some peculiarities of style, proving, that the author of the "Considerations," which was written *before* the letters of Junius, was also the author of those letters.

Nothing will follow from the use of single words and phrases, unless they are uncommon or frequently occur; but when thus employed in an unusual manner in two productions, they suggest, that the productions came from one pen.

CONSIDERATIONS. "France has for a century past been *formidable* to the rest of Europe."—"By attacking the French in their islands, by which only they can ever be *formidable* to Great Britain."—"Will soon grow *formidable*."—"Might have made them *formidable* to us."—"Would the crown of France be so very *formidably in*riched by the acquisition?"—"In any degree *formidable* to Britain."

JUNIUS. "Finds him, at last, too strong to be commanded, and too *formidable* to be removed."—"The most *formidable* minister, that ever was em-

ployed, under a limited monarch, to accomplish the ruin of a free people."—"Armed with the sovereign authority, their principles are *formidable*."

In my opinion there is something peculiar in the use of this word, which is seldom used by writers of that period. A soldier is the character most likely to employ it. Junius uses it in other instances besides those quoted.

CONSIDERATIONS. "That must *commit* them in eternal quarrels with every member of the Germanic body."

JUNIUS. "Without *committing* the honor of your sovereign, or hazarding the reputation of his government."

CONSIDERATIONS. "What the amount of this is, *I confess* I do not know."

JUNIUS. "When I see questions, &c. without argument or decency, *I confess* I give up the cause in despair."—"Here, *I confess*, you have been active."—"And, *I confess*, I have not that opinion of their knowledge."—"But now, *I confess*, they are not ill exchanged."—"*I confess* I give you some credit for your discretion."—"Oppose their dissolution, upon an opinion, *I confess*, not very unwarrantable;" and so in a dozen other instances.

CONSIDERATIONS. "They are driven out of Germany. *Be it so:* was any one of the towns,

which they shall quit in their retreat, their's before?" —"He might beat the French out of Hanover. *Be it so.* Still Britain must be at the expense."—"But *be it so*, let them both come to our aid."

JUNIUS. "Better suited to the dignity of your cause, than that of a newspaper. *Be it so.* Yet, if newspapers are scurrilous, you must confess they are impartial."—"Amounts to a high misdemeanor. *Be it so:* and if he deserves it, let him be punished."—"Ought not to pass unpunished. *Be it so.*"

CONSIDERATIONS. "They found it *impracticable* to go any where else."—"*Impracticable* attempt."—"To confound a diminutive, defensive, ruinous, and *impracticable* measure."—"*Impracticable* task."—"Both nations see the *impracticableness* of bringing them over."—"Absolutely *impracticable* for them to raise their navy to an equality with ours."

JUNIUS. "Let us try whether these fatal dissensions may not yet be reconciled; or, if that be *impracticable*, let us."—"There is no *practicable* retreat."

CONSIDERATIONS. "And who very candidly *stated the subject*, and left his hearers, if they had pleased, to draw the consequences."—"Though every thing was *stated* with the greatest fairness and precision."

JUNIUS. "In continuing to examine your conduct as a minister, and *stating it fairly* to the public."—"If the question had been once *stated* with precision."—"*Stating* and refuting the objections."—"I mean to *state*, not entirely to defend his conduct."

CONSIDERATIONS. "*Not to mention*, that in the present case."

JUNIUS. "*Not to mention* a multitude of prerogative writs."

CONSIDERATIONS. "Indangered, intire, intrusted, indured, inriched, imploy, intail," instead of "endangered," &c.

JUNIUS, edition of 1783. "Intrusted, intitles," &c.

CONSIDERATIONS. "They ought to declare no more than they *really* intend."—"Not that any thing of this nature *really* would happen."—"If we *really* think ourselves strong enough."—"Not as *really* matter of their opinion."—"But do we *really* transport troops into Germany upon as cheap terms as France."—"What the quantity of these *really* is, may not be easy to determine."

JUNIUS. "If he *really* be, what I think him, honest."—"Whose character I *really* respect."—"But *really*, Sir, this way of talking."—"Which affect individuals only, is *really* unworthy of your under-

standing."—"But *really*, Sir, my honest friend's suppositions."—"But *really*, Sir, the precedent with respect to the guards."—"It is time for those, who *really* mean well to the cause."—"For *really*, Sir William, I am not your enemy."—"Do you then *really* think," &c.

CONSIDERATIONS. "*In short*, if we are to persist in this ruinous and impracticable German war."—"*In short*, this is which France never can be hurt by, and never can be weary of."—"*In short*, there has never any reason yet been given."—"*In short*, either there is such a thing."—"*In short*, men may talk big about the public faith, but every one knows what is meant by a resolution of the house."—"*In short*, the two houses are committed in an eternal war."

JUNIUS. "Or, *in short*, if these arguments should be thought insufficient, we may fairly deny the fact."—"*In short*, Sir, to collect a thousand absurdities into one mass."—"Or, *in short*, did they attempt to produce any evidence of his insanity?"

CONSIDERATIONS. "I will leave the reader to picture to himself what must happen long before we *have gone such a length*."—"It is the property of error to fly out into *endless lengths*, without respecting any common point or centre."

JUNIUS. "Supposes, that the present House of

Commons, in *going such enormous lengths*, have been imprudent to themselves."—"Where shall we find the man, who, with purer principles, will *go the lengths*, and run the hazards, that he has done?"—"When a man, who stands forth to the public, has *gone that length*, from which there is no practicable retreat."

CONSIDERATIONS. "Providence *has been pleased* to present to our view the means of solid peace and independence: and *to have reserved*, for the peculiar glory of his Majesty's reign, the placing our island in a state of happiness."

JUNIUS. "*To have supported* your assertion, you should *have proved*, that the present ministry."

CONSIDERATIONS. "We had Prussian caps to make our ladies look fine, and Prussian cross-bones to shew their men the more frightful; and, which was more than both, we had Prussian ale for *the mob* to get drunk with."—"The thoughtless *mob* may be instantaneously converted in his favor."

JUNIUS. "Lord Chatham very properly called this the act of a *mob*, not of a Senate."

CONSIDERATIONS. "It will by no means follow, that every continental connection must therefore be right: else we must read our *logic* backwards, and say, *Omne minus includit majus*."

JUNIUS. "He changes the *terms of the proposition.*"—"His *logic* seems to have been studied under Mr. Dyson. That miserable pamphleteer, dividing the only precedent in point, and taking as much of it, as suited his purpose, had reduced his argument to something like the shape of a syllogism."—"If I admitted the premises, I should agree in all the consequences drawn from them."—"This is the very *logic*, taught at St. Omer's."—"In this article, your first fact is false—I could wish you would pay a greater attention to the truth of your premises, before you suffer your genius to hurry you to a conclusion."—"You assure me, that my *logic* is puerile and tinsel; that it carries not the least weight or conviction; that my premises are false, and my conclusions absurd."—"This may be *logic* at Cambridge, or at the treasury."

CONSIDERATIONS. "If from *reasoning* we recur to *facts.*"

JUNIUS. "It depends upon a combination of *facts* and *reasoning.*"—"By reconciling absurdities, and making the same proposition, which is false and absurd in *argument*, true in *fact.*"

CONSIDERATIONS. "And the Dutch and Danes have given no proof of their wishing success to our cause. *I do not mean* the defence of Hanover, but the war, in which we are supporting the king of

Prussia."—"I *do not mean* to say, that these subsidies did not afterwards grow larger."

JUNIUS. "I would have the manners of the people purely and strictly republican. *I do not mean* the licentious spirit of anarchy and riot. *I mean* a general attachment to the commonweal."—"The question to those, who *mean* fairly to the liberty of the people."—"Do you *mean* to desert that just and honorable system."—"They, who object to detached parts of Junius' last letter, either do not *mean him* fairly."—"They, who would carry the privileges of parliament farther than Junius, either *do not mean* well to the public, or know not what they are doing."—"It is time for those, who really *mean* well to the cause."—"Without *meaning* an indecent comparison I may venture to foretel."—"I *do not mean* to decline the question of right."

CONSIDERATIONS. "It is not now the business of France *to exert its whole force*."

JUNIUS. "*Exert their utmost abilities* in the discussion of it."—"Gave us no promise of that uncommon *exertion of vigor*."—"He must now *exert the whole power* of his capacity."

"CONSIDERATIONS. "Many persons, *I know*, will think it strange."—"*I know*, it is said, we have money enough."—"*I know*, that it has been said,

that England paid."—"*I know*, it has been said, that our allies."

JUNIUS. "My premises, *I know*, will be denied in argument."—"*I know* it has been alleged in your favor."—"A courtier, *I know*, will be ready to maintain the affirmative."

CONSIDERATIONS. "To contribute he is capable *of* to the public service."—"This was an august alliance, worthy of a king of England to fight at the head *of*."—"Which England can be indangered *by;* and the only state, which England is now at war *with*."—"Proves the immense height of power, which that kingdom may arrive *at*, and," &c.—"Practising less of its religious tyranny over its Protestant subjects, than it had been ordinarily *used to*."—"Which in every other case is allowed to be the best rule to found a judgment *upon*."—"Whither could they wish to transfer the war, rather than into Germany, where they have nothing to lose, or be in fear *for;* and where could they wish to have us meet them, rather than in a country, where we have nothing to hope *for?*"—"But what is the benefit, which this much greater sum is the purchase *of?*"—"A specific renunciation, which in our future treaty cannot be thought *of*."—"A greater expense for the German war, than it had then the least idea *of*."—"To carry them to an infinitely greater

height, than any other men could have thought *of*." —" Cannot build them a single frigate to annoy our coast *with*."—" Which from the nature of their quarrel they can never be free *from*."—" And what is all this slaughter of German protestants to end *in !*" —" To fight in a cause, which all the powers of Europe are averse *to*."—" Finding our enemy a field to beat us *in*."—" France has Switzerland, Italy, Germany, and Flanders to recruit *out of*."—" In short, this is a war, which France never can be hurt *by*, and never can be weary *of*."—" Have no other ground to meet us *on*."

JUNIUS. " Before you had obliged lord Granby to quit a service he was attached *to*."—" Have nothing to regret, but that it has never been adhered *to*." —" He was entitled to it by the house he lives *in*." —" An early conviction, that no serious resentment was thought *of*, and that," &c.—" But was there no other person of rank and consequence in the city, whom government could confide *in*, but a notorious Jacobite ?"—" When the party, he wishes well *to*, has the fairest prospect of success."—" What a pitiful detail did it end *in !*—some old clothes,—a Welch poney," &c.—" If any coarse expressions have escaped me, I am ready to agree, that they are unfit for Junius to make use *of*."—" To rail at him for crimes he is not guilty *of*."—" In whatever

departments their various abilities are best suited *to*." —"When lord Camden supposes a necessity (which the king is to judge *of*);"—"No remedy for the grievance complained *of*; for if there were," &c.— "A whole life of deliberate iniquity is ill atoned *for*, by doing now and then a laudable action."—"But they did more than people in general were aware *of*."—"Are the real cause of all the public evils we complain *of*."—"And truly, Sir William, the part you have undertaken is at least as much as you are equal *to*."—"Presume to intrude yourself, unthought *of*, uncalled *for*, upon the patience of the public?"— "Avail yourself of all the unforgiving piety of the court you live *in*, and bless God, that 'you are not as other men are.'"—"Should have forbidden you to make use *of*."—"Let us look back to a scene, in which a mind like yours will find nothing to repent *of*."—"An acquisition, the importance of which you have probably no conception *of*."—"Would then have known what they had to trust *to*, and would never," &c.—"Would never have felt, much less would he have submitted *to*, the dishonest necessity."—"To sacrifice ourselves is a weakness we may indulge *in*, if we think proper."—"The man, I speak *of*, has not a heart," &c.—"A multitude of political offences to atone *for*."

CONSIDERATIONS. "The only chance we have however for such an union, and the only means of accelerating it, is to leave the French to themselves; not to conquer Germany, for that is impossible; but to harass it as much as they please, and make themselves as odious as we can desire."—"Whither could they wish to transfer the war, rather than into Germany, where they have nothing to lose or be in fear for; and where could they wish to have us meet them, rather than in a country, where we have nothing to hope for?"—"The sums given seem not calculated to purchase a defence, so much as to keep off an attack."—"It would have been placed under the guard of our front, and not out of the reach even of our hands."—"If we could be persuaded to use that power more, and talk of it less, we might perhaps be acting a wiser part."—"Being obliged to pay him money to enable him to fight his own battles against enemies, which Britain has no quarrel with."—"When we had got it, would we keep it, if we could? Could we keep it if we would?"—"Allowing it not impossible to take a town, it would be absolutely so to know what to do with it."—"A war, which France never can be hurt by, and never can be weary of."—"The channel and our fleet would keep the peace; we should not want to get any thing from them; and they would not be able to get

any thing from us."—"And is it not the usual policy of men in such circumstances to secure their enemies as soon as they have wearied their friends?"—"Artfully laid upon us the burden of bribing one half of Germany and fighting the other.—His demands will rise with his greatness, and the time will come when our money or our patience will be exhausted: sooner or later he will be wanting something more of us than we shall be able to pay for its immunity. Will then the prey, which he has so long watched for, appear the less inviting, for Britain's being obliged to give up the protection of it? Or will the morsel be the less delicious, for our having spent there so many millions in the defence of it?"—"Is either the payment of fear, to buy off the evil of suffering; or it is the purchase of good, to procure the benefit of assistance."—"It forms continental connections: that is, it contentedly lavishes away its treasures for a something, which it can draw no troops from, called by a fine name, to which it can put no meaning."—"When all that continent is connected with France in an alliance against us, and the cause we would espouse; the sending our troops thither in such a case, and upon such a pretence, is little better than the running our head against a wall, and saying we must have a connection with it."—"To consider where it can

make war to greatest advantage; where it is itself strongest, and its enemy weakest; where it has itself least to lose, and its enemy most; and where its victories are like to have the best effect, and soonest bring its enemy to peace."—"The only acquisitions it would be of any advantage to us to gain, and the only ones, which it is practicable for us to keep."—"Is by much too expensive an affair to be chosen upon any account as a French diversion; and by much too serious an affair to be considered in any sense as an English one."

I think no one, conversant with Junius, can read the foregoing extracts from the "Considerations," without perceiving the very spirit and style of Junius: let him compare them with the following.

Junius. "But, my lord, you may quit the field of business though not the field of danger, and though you cannot be safe you may cease to be ridiculous."—"Even the best of princes may at last discover, that this is a contention, in which every thing may be lost but nothing can be gained."—"You began with betraying the people; you conclude with betraying the king."—"They have relinquished the revenue, but judiciously taken care to preserve the contention."—"The duke, it seems, had contracted an obligation he was ashamed to acknowledge and unable to acquit. You, my lord,

had no scruples. You accepted the succession with all its incumbrances, and have paid Mr. Luttrell his legacy, at the hazard of ruining the estate." —" You shall be called upon to answer for the advice, which has been given, and either discover your accomplices, or fall a sacrifice to their security."— " He determined to quit a court, whose proceedings and decisions he could neither assent to with honor, nor oppose with success."—" Their constituents would have a better opinion of their candor, and, I promise you, not a worse opinion of their integrity." —" The honor of a nobleman is no more considered than the reputation of a peasant; for, with different liveries, they are equally slaves."—" The motions of a timid, dishonest heart, which neither has virtue enough to acknowledge truth, or courage to contradict it."—" The impostor employs force instead of argument, imposes silence where he cannot convince, and propagates his character by the sword."—" He became minister by accident; but deserting the principles and professions which gave him a moment's popularity, we see him from every honorable engagement to the public an apostate by design."—" His reputation, like that unhappy country to which you refer me for his last military achievements [Hanover], has suffered more by his friends than his enemies."—" These are the gloomy

companions of a disturbed imagination; the melancholy madness of poetry without the inspiration."—"As you are yourself a singular instance of youth without spirit, the man who defends you is a no less remarkable example of age without the benefit of experience."—"From one extreme you suddenly start to another, without leaving between the weakness and the fury of the passions one moment's interval for the firmness of the understanding."—"Whose views can only be answered by reconciling absurdities, and making the same proposition, which is false and absurd in argument, true in fact."—"It is not, that you do wrong by design, but that you should never do right by mistake."—"Having sold the nation to you in gross, they will undoubtedly protect you in the detail; for, while they patronise your crimes, they feel for their own."—"The rays of royal indignation, collected upon him, served only to illuminate, and could not consume."—"To a situation so unhappy, that you can neither do wrong without ruin, nor right without affliction."—"The prince, who imitates their conduct, should be warned by their example; and, while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the crown, should remember, that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another."

CONSIDERATIONS. "An army is a many-headed monster, that must be fed; and the defending army ought to have as many mouths as the attacking; and each will get but all they can from the poor inhabitants."—"The French have already been in possession of this country. Did the sun refuse to shine, or the rivers to flow, upon that account?"—"We confess he lives by miracle, and are wondering every year, that he does not fall: and yet this is the prince, that we have placed our only dependence on."—"Instead of attacking this bull by the horns on his German frontier, let us rather gore him in his flank, or pierce him to the heart."—"Draw down good troops for another army, I had almost said, out of the moon; for upon this earth, I have shown, they are not to be had."—"Why take so immensely wide a circuit, to come at a point which lies straight before us?"—"Do the resentments even of private men subside so soon, after the most premeditated rancor? The operations of fear may be instantaneous: but love and friendship are plants of a slower growth."—"All the connections, therefore, which we can have at present with these, must, I fear, be at the muzzles of our musquets."—"For a moment let us lament the fate of our island, that having so long remained above water, it must now sink, unless chained and moored by some connection to the con-

tinent."—"But not to lose sight of this subject in this unmeaning smoke-ball of a pompous phrase."—"And how would the mighty statesman's ghost stalk indignant by the man," &c.—"Is little better than running our head against a wall, and saying we must have a connection with it."

JUNIUS. "Private credit is wealth;—public honor is security. The feather, that adorns the royal bird, supports his flight. Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth."—"Ample justice has been done, by abler pens than mine, to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be my humble office to collect the scattered sweets till their united virtue tortures the sense."—"Not daring to attack the main body of Junius' last letter, he triumphs in having, as he thinks, surprised an outpost, and cut off a detached argument, a mere straggling proposition. But even in this petty warfare he shall find himself defeated."—"If you deny him the cup, there will be no keeping him within the pale of the ministry."—"My zeal for his service is superior to neglect, and, like Mr. Wilkes' patriotism, thrives by persecution."—"When that noxious planet approaches England, he never fails to bring plague and pestilence along with him."—"The flaming patriot, who so lately scorched us in the meridian, sinks temperately to the west, and is

hardly felt as he descends."—" The wary Wedderburne, the pompous Suffolk, never threw away the scabbard, nor ever went upon a forlorn hope."—"In the shipwreck of the state, trifles float, and are preserved; while every thing solid and valuable sinks to the bottom, and is lost for ever."—" The very sun-shine you live in is a prelude to your dissolution. When you are ripe, you shall be plucked."

CONSIDERATIONS. " But shall we suffer the Protestant interest to be oppressed? This is a question put into the mouths of many good people, and therefore deserves a particular answer."—" But shall France be suffered to conquer Hanover? No one, who is in the least acquainted," &c.—" But the poor people, it may be said, deserve our compassion. True, they do so; and for that reason we ought to let them alone, and not make their country the theatre of a war, which must ruin them."—" But the empress Queen refused to defend the Electorate. True, she alleged her own danger, and therefore she increased that danger."—" Does he then supply our army with troops?"—" But is he not a man of great abilities? Doubtless he is so; and one of the clearest proofs of it is his obliging us to pay him six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for nothing. In that respect he is certainly the

greatest prince ever known to Britain before."—"But he is certainly a very great prince. So we read in our papers about three hundred times a year."—"But the truth is, all the diversion, which Britain can make to France in Germany, is by sending fewer troops, at double the expense, to act against a greater number of the French. Thus it has been every year of the war hitherto, and thus it will continue."

JUNIUS. "But after all, Sir, where is the injury? You assure me, that my logic is puerile and tinsel."—"But, it seems, I have outraged the feelings of a father's heart.—Am I indeed so injudicious?"—"What then, my lord? Is this the event of all the sacrifices you have made to lord Bute's patronage, and to your own unfortunate ambition?"—"After all, Sir, to what kind of disavowal has the king of Spain at last consented?"—"Who attacks the liberty of the press?—Lord Mansfield.—Who invades the constitutional power of juries?—Lord Mansfield."—"You ask me, What juryman was challenged by lord Mansfield?—I tell you, his name is Benson."—"But, it seems, 'the liberty of the press may be abused, and the abuse of a valuable privilege is the certain means to lose it.' The first I admit."—"But I could venture, for the experiment's sake, even to give this writer the utmost he

asks."—"But I have a charge of a heavier nature against Sir William Draper. He tells us," &c.—"Has this gentleman been called to a court martial to answer for his conduct? No. Has it been censured? No."—"Will your majesty interfere in a question, in which you have properly no immediate concern? It would be a step equally odious and unnecessary. Shall the lords be called upon to determine the rights and privileges of the commons?—They cannot do it without a flagrant breach of the constitution."

CHAPTER VI.

Argument from the Comparison of the "Reply to Burgoyne."

In the year 1779 there was published in London a pamphlet in 46 pages, entitled—"A Reply to Lieutenant General Burgoyne's Letter to his Constituents.—Expende Hannibalem. Juv."—As an inquiry was made in parliament concerning Burgoyne's campaign, and as he endeavored to throw the blame of its failure on lord Sackville, whose instructions, as he maintained, he followed, it is evident, that Sackville was the person most interested in defending the Secretary for the American department and in endeavoring to beat down the defence of general Burgoyne. The pamphlet is also written in such a cool and dignified manner, with such pretensions to candor, as betrays its authorship. Its correspondence in style with the 'Considerations' on the German war is another proof, that it came from the pen of Sackville. Believing it cannot be made a question, that this was his produc-

tion, I shall endeavor to prove, that it bears the very features of Junius.

I shall first present a few *words* and *phrases*, such as are common in Junius, or peculiar to him.

REPLY. "Difficulties were crowding upon you no less *formidable*, than numerous."—"*I confess*, I am ignorant of the mode of justification."—"*I confess*, that were I an elector of Preston, I should entertain strong doubts."—"As this is *impracticable*."—"*Surely*"—"*True*"—"It *is true*"—"*Really*."

"Positive and precise as the oracle of Delphos, you *pronounce* upon the plans and principles of ministers; upon the wrongs of injured merit; upon the dreadful situation of public affairs."

"You *sate out* with *stating*, that," &c.

"Your authority cannot have that weight upon the present occasion, which upon all other occasions it is justly entitled *to*."

"Yet, *in spite of* this opinion, &c. *you still* continue," &c.

"You complain very bitterly of the Court etiquette, invented, you allege, *upon your occasion*, which excluded you from the royal presence."—"If he wished to have suppressed *your information*, whether he took the means," &c.—"*Your information*, it is true, would be immediately told in the

royal ear."—"He could not imagine, that *your facts* would be weakened."

"I will prove, that *to have granted* it to you would *have been* folly and injustice."

The author of the Reply usually writes in the first person singular: in the following sentence he falls into the ministerial manner of the plural. "If you tell *us*, that it is the privilege of anger to rail, *we will* agree with you, that it is a privilege, which anger too frequently assumes; but if you mean seriously to bring forward these charges, you must support them with other evidence than your own." The spirit of the latter part of the sentence proves a personal interest on the part of the writer.

Towards the close of the Reply, a very ingenious parallel is instituted between Marcus Attilius Regulus and lieutenant general Burgoyne. It concludes with saying, in reference to Burgoyne's letter,—"This letter was received with a difference of opinion. Some thought it a pathetic representation of unnecessary severity; some considered it as a justification of his conduct; and there were not wanting some who pronounced it A LIBEL UPON THE KING'S GOVERNMENT."

REPLY. "We admire the morality of the sentiment, and only lament, that it should be so little observed."—"Whatever may have been the con-

duct of Ministers, you stand alike with them before the tribunal of the public, and it is not by the accusation of others, that you will be permitted to justify yourself."—"This country *has* seen commanders whom Ministers, in vain, would have labored to disgrace; whom it was not in the power of calumny to defame; whom it was not within the reach of malice to hurt.—Instead of depending for their lustre upon Ministers, they reflected glory upon Administration."—"The truly great commander rests not upon such uncertain grounds. He lays in a stock of reputation, which a legion of pilferers may labor in vain to diminish; and, secure in the opinion of his country, he sets at defiance both the insidious whisper, and the professed attack."—"The mob form their opinion of an orator from the strength of his lungs, and the muscle of his arm. Noisy vociferation and vehement gesture pass with them for the warmth of conviction and the authority of truth."—"In order to induce our belief of an improbable circumstance with regard to you, you tell us first to believe it of five hundred others; as if incredulity decreased, in proportion as the improbable verges towards the marvellous."—"The same mark of distinction may be conferred upon one, who, under your circumstances, will not observe your conduct; who being equally unfortunate will

not be equally upright."—"It was easier for a whole people to be treacherous, than for Regulus to be false. He knew the punishment, that awaited him at Carthage: but stern and inflexible, he preferred his duty to his safety; and his countenance, which upon his arrival expressed a thousand mixed emotions, was serene and settled at his departure."—"This charge, therefore, does not appear to have any foundation in *truth;* and certainly it has none in *reason.*"—"While his rank would secure him respect, the consideration that he was called to that rank from an opinion of his abilities, would give hope to his troops, and confidence to his country."—"They gave freedom to your tongue in the senate, but not liberty to your arm in the field; and it would have been neither honorable in you to have drawn your sword, nor in this country to have accepted of your services."—"I shall now, Sir, take my leave of you with a very sincere wish, that your retreat from the public service may appease the malice of your enemies, and that your retirement may be undisturbed by reproach."

I flatter myself, that no one can read these extracts from the Reply to Burgoyne, without recognising the author of Junius and the author of Considerations on the German War. It may indeed be said, that the Reply was written six years after the

letters of Junius, and that Sackville, the author of it, might have imitated the manner of Junius. But I think no one will confide in such a suggestion, who considers, that Sackville, when the letters of Junius were finished, was fifty-six years of age, and that long before that period his style of writing, whatever it was, must in its great characteristics have been fixed and unalterable. In 1779, when he had reached his first grand climacteric, he was not likely to be employed in the study of Junius as a model of composition. If not an imitator, he is the original.

We have thus seen a strong resemblance, inexplicable except from the identity of the authors, between the style of Junius and that of Sackville in his writings both before and after Junius. Our persuasion of this identity will, I think, be confirmed by the perusal of the following extracts from the Speeches and Letters of lord Sackville, which are stamped with the style and spirit of Junius.

CHAPTER VII.

Argument from the Comparison of the Speeches and Letters of Sackville.

SACKVILLE. "I am extremely obliged to you for your letter; though *wrote* to me in English, it must have been," &c. Letter, 1745. "I should have *wrote* to you sooner," &c. Letter, 1748.

JUNIUS. "The letters of your masterly correspondent Lucius have *drove* his lordship." Cleophas, September, 1768.

SACKVILLE. 1770. "*Mark*, how he is every day and every hour pointed out in print, &c. No epithet is too bad for him."

JUNIUS to Garrick, 1771. "Now *mark* me, vagabond. Keep to your pantomimes, or, be assured, you shall hear of it."

SACKVILLE. "Remote, as it is, from those, I am used to live *with*, and different as the country and climate are from those I might expect to be *in*."—"Such is the climate, that we are sending our troops *to*."—"If he did not like the quarters the regiment was ordered *to*."—"It is a fault I am not often

guilty *of*."—"Inconveniences, which an alteration of any standing law may be attended *with*."—"What a nonplus might a colonel be put *to*, when his regiment was just going to be reviewed."—"Such demands, I believe, very few colonels would be able to comply *with*."—"Superior to those we may now meet them *with*."

JUNIUS. "As much as you are equal *to*."—"Battles, which he might have been engaged *in*, and the dangers," &c.—"Would have known what they had to trust *to*, and would never," &c.

SACKVILLE. January, 1770. "The freedom of election is the sacred *palladium* of English liberty."

JUNIUS. Dedication, 1772. "The liberty of the press is the *palladium*," &c.

SACKVILLE. 1748. "We have had no letters from Holland for some days, *so* we do not know," &c.—"A long time before I can have the pleasure of being taken measure of by him; *so*, if you please, do not wait for me."

JUNIUS. "I have no doubt of what you say about David Garrick; *so* drop the note."—"And *so* direct to Mr. John Fretly."

SACKVILLE. "Supported the ministry in the address to the king; *so that* Mr. Hume Campbell," &c.—"Such as a rich wife, large legacy, or the

like ; *so that* even this bill passed into law," &c.—The same phrase is often used by Sackville.

JUNIUS. "Until they should be demanded by the civil power ; *so that*, while the officers," &c.—"He warned them to hold up and inhance the price ; *so that* the plan of reducing," &c.

SACKVILLE. 1770. "Adviseable to *screen* him behind the curtain of a majority."

JUNIUS. "Which you endeavor to *screen* by suddenly dropping," &c.——"Who *screened* lord Mansfield ?"

SACKVILLE. 1781. "Although insinuations had been *thrown out* with respect to the past," &c.

JUNIUS. "Deceived by the appearances *thrown out* by your grace."——"Fallacious insinuations *thrown out* by men," &c.

SACKVILLE. 1779. "He despised that honorable member, but would level himself with his *wretched* character and malice."—"Perish in the tumult with *honester* men."

JUNIUS. "That Swinney is a *wretched* but a dangerous fool."—"The *wretched* conduct of the ministry."—"This Scævola is the *wretchedest* of all fools, and dirty knave."

SACKVILLE. "Suppose the allegation true, *yet still* it can be here no reasonable objection."—"A

body of men interested to support them; *yet still* the force of truth finally surmounts the obstacle."

JUNIUS. In letter of Veteran.—"*Yet still*, some of them, though in your wise opinion not qualified to command, are entitled to respect."—"*Still however* your opinions," &c.

SACKVILLE. January, 1770. "And though his Majesty, in the generous, unsuspecting frankness of his nature, may not perceive to what an unhappy catastrophe the perfidy of his ministers may lead, yet surely it is the duty of his parliament to guard him against the insidious artifices of those, who having rendered themselves odious by their conduct, have nothing more to do, but to render themselves secure by their cunning."

JUNIUS. August, 1770. "As for you, my lord, who perhaps are no more than the blind, unhappy instrument of lord Bute and her royal highness, the Princess of Wales, be assured, that you shall be called upon to answer for the advice, which has been given, and either discover your accomplices or fall a sacrifice to their security."

"Their constituents would have a better opinion of their candor, and, I promise you, not a worse opinion of their integrity."

CHAPTER VIII.

Concluding Remarks.

If, as I trust has been proved, Sackville be the author of the letters of Junius, he deserves to be remembered, not as a great benefactor of the human race, but as a bold, keen, malignant accuser of his brethren, who has taught multitudes to shoot from a dark corner the arrows of destruction and slander. He has probably had more admirers and imitators, than any political writer whatever. Warm partizans aim to wield the bow of Junius; and we have seen truth and charity falling in the streets. If we should for a moment study the grand features of Christian goodness,—the meekness, the humility, the forbearance, the ardent benevolence, which beam forth in the countenance of the disciple of Jesus,—and then contemplate the dark, malignant visage of Junius, the stern pride, the irrepressible disdain, the deep hostility, the unsated revenge, the barbarous ferocity, by which he is marked,—we shall see somewhat of the difference between an angel of light and a fallen spirit of evil.

The general admiration of Junius by our countrymen is greatly to be deplored, inasmuch as it tends to foster the malignant passions of the human heart, and to introduce into the political disputes of brethren all the ferocity, which in Junius is to be traced to the indignation of a degraded soldier and the determined ambition, which builds its structure on the ruins, it has created.

Sackville's whole life, after the dishonor of his court martial, was a life of imposture. He perpetually wore a *mask.* He shrouded himself in darkness. His real aims were never avowed; and the measures, adopted for obtaining those ends, were secret and mysterious. When there was wanting the consciousness of sincerity and of love to truth, his support even of correct principles loses its value. In considering some of the sentiments of Junius as coming from the haughty, imperious minister of George III, I cannot avoid thinking of commendations of chastity from the lips of a libertine. I ask for republican principles only from a real republican, and not from a devoted servant of royalty. I will accept however from Lord Sackville his description of the characters and manners of the illustrious nobles of Great Britain. He knew them well; and speaking from intimate acquaintance he carries conviction to the mind.

Happy will it be for Americans, who have the privilege of electing their own rulers, if they commit power only to the hands of the virtuous; if they never by their suffrages elevate to high dignity and wide influence men, whose hands are red with crime, and whose examples will shed a pestilence through the land. Without private, how can we expect public virtue? The unplumed eagle, though we place him among the stars, will yet sink to the ground.

Of the irritable temper and proud, indignant feelings of lord Sackville, perfectly according with the character of Junius, there is very ample evidence.

In 1770 lord Sackville made a motion in the House of Commons, on which Governor Johnstone, in reply, remarked, "that he wondered that noble lord should interest himself so deeply in the honor of his country, when he had hitherto been so regardless of his own." In consequence Sackville challenged and fought him with pistols.

After the capture of Burgoyne a motion was made in parliament to inquire into the convention of Saratoga. In the debate Mr. Luttrell alluded to the censure of the court martial on lord Sackville,—who replied—"that he never was personal in the house to any one; never, by any conduct of his, merited such an attack; he despised that honorable

member, but would level himself with his wretched character and malice; old as he was, he would meet that fighting gentleman and be revenged." The house was thrown into confusion. It was with great difficulty, that lord George was induced to acknowledge his irregularity and to make an apology.

Mr. Burke said in a speech May 6, 1779, concerning lord North,—"He is sometimes *more angry*, than his noble friend (lord George Sackville,) and when he pleases, he can be almost as witty."

In a debate at the opening of parliament in 1780, after a speech by Mr. Fox, lord Sackville said—"as the honorable gentleman, in the course of his speech, had thought proper to throw out allusions, which he could not but see were directed at him, the house might possibly expect, that he should make some reply; he rose therefore, to say, once for all, that whenever gentlemen chose to descend to the meanness of dealing in personal invectives, and to single him out as their object, he was prepared to treat the invectives and the author of them with the contempt they deserved."

Mr. Cumberland says—"The well known circumstance, that occurred upon his elevation to the peerage, made a deep and painful impression on his feeling mind; and if his seeming patience under the infliction of it should appear to merit, in a moral

sense, the name of virtue, I must candidly acknowledge it as a virtue, that he had no title to be credited for, inasmuch as it was entirely owing to the influence of some, who overruled his propensities, that he did not betake himself to the same abrupt, unwarrantable mode of dismissing this insult, as he had resorted to in a former instance." Cumberland then states, that Sackville had prepared an *invitation*, and was about to send it by Sir Edward Sackville, when the remonstrances of lord Amherst and other friends put him by from his resolve. He also remarks—"Many men, in other respects wise and just and temperate, not having the resolution to be right in their own consciences, have set aside both reason and religion, and in compliance with the evil practice of the world about them, performed their bloody sacrifices, and immolated human victims to the idol of false honor."

It is a melancholy consideration, that at the age of sixty-six he should thus have resolved on a duel with the marquis of Carmarthen. We see how embittered were those honors, for the attainment of which he had toiled so long and so incessantly, and the attainment of which he survived only three short years. Had the same mental effort and the same unwearied industry, instead of being wasted in political controversy, or prostituted to the indulgence

of personal animosities, or degraded by subserviency to ambitious views, been employed in the noble pursuits of virtue and religion; Sackville would have received from the king of heaven an unwithering crown of righteousness. He gained the title of Viscount and a seat in the House of Peers; but he did not gain tranquillity and repose. He will have, as I believe, the mingled credit and infamy of being the author of the letters of Junius; and the undivided reproach of employing the American savages as instruments of terror and of carnage in conducting the American war. While the war-whoop and the scalping-knife are remembered, the "perishable infamy" of his name shall be kept alive.

To my mind there is something very impressive and monitory in the death of Sackville. I cannot apply to him the words of the poet of the grave:—

"Sure the last end
Of the good man is peace. How calm his exit!
Night dews fall not more gently to the ground,
Nor weary, worn-out winds expire more soft.
Behold him! in the evening-tide of life,
A life well spent, whose early care it was,
His riper years should not upbraid his green:
By unperceived degrees he wears away;
Yet, like the sun, seems larger at his setting!"

Almost the whole life of Sackville was a perpetual combat, a struggle for office and for the honors derived from royal friendship. After possessing those honors for two or three short years he found himself sinking into the grave. It is an interesting inquiry, what was the foundation of his hopes in regard to a future world. He believed the christian religion. Among its requisitions he knew was the demand of forgiveness of injuries and reconciliation to an injured brother. This world was fading away from his sight, and the future was rising upon his vision. After a great struggle he brought his mind to the point of forgiving one, who had deeply wounded his pride, and whom a few years before he had resolved to fight. Whether this was real christian charity and noble benevolence, I will not undertake to say. This interview with lord Mansfield, whom he had injured, has been already described. A short time before he expired, he said to Mr. Cumberland, his secretary,—pressing his hand—"You see me now in those moments, when no disguise will serve, and when the spirit of a man must be proved. I have a mind perfectly resigned, and at peace within itself. I have done with this world, and what I have done in it I have done for the best; I hope and trust, I am prepared for the next. Tell not me of all, that passes in health and pride of heart;

these are the moments, in which a man must be searched; and remember, that I die, as you see me, with a tranquil conscience and content."

Mr. Cumberland also says—"I never heard, that my friend, lord George Germain, was amongst the suspected authors of Junius, till by way of jest he told me so not many days before his death: I did not want him to disavow it, for there could be no occasion to disprove an absolute impossibility. The man, who wrote it, had a savage heart, for some of his attacks are execrable: he was a hypocrite, for he disavows private motives, and makes pretensions to a patriotic spirit."

If Cumberland is right in his estimate of Junius, and if Sackville was Junius; then, what he had done in the world, he had *not* "done for the best." Were his "hypocrisy and execrable attacks" for the best? Was the duel with Johnstone for the best? And was the later projected duel for the best? It ill becomes a man to utter the language of Sackville, unless he approaches the disinterested benevolence, strong faith, and ardent devotion of St. Paul. I deem it no breach of charity to assert, that, if in the review of his past life Sackville's conscience was tranquil; yet there was no reason for the tranquillity. To a great offender I would not deny the possibility of dying in peace and even in triumph, pro-

vided, that with a penitent spirit and the love of holiness he, even in his last hours, confides in the mercy of the Savior, that he may be "justified by faith in Christ," and find "redemption through his blood." But he must come with the temper of the publican, saying, "God, be merciful to me, a sinner!" and not in the boastful confidence of a proud pharisee. I recollect, that Rousseau, steeped in crime, declared, that he would go before the throne of God and demand heaven as the reward of his virtue.

There is truth in the following remarks of Adam Smith in the first edition of his Theory of Moral Sentiments, though afterwards, as he approached the faith of Rousseau or imbibed the miserable skepticism of Hume, he expunged them, as if he too intended to demand heaven as the reward of his moral excellence, instead of imploring eternal life as the gift of mercy through Jesus Christ, "the propitiation for the sins of the world."

"If we consult our natural sentiments, we are apt to fear, lest before the holiness of God vice should appear more worthy of punishment, than the weakness and imperfection of human nature can ever seem to be of reward. Man, when about to appear before a being of infinite perfection, can feel but little confidence in his own merit, or in the imper-

fect propriety of his own conduct. In the presence of his fellow creatures he may often justly elevate himself, and may often have reason to think highly of his own character and conduct, compared to the still greater imperfection of theirs. But the case is quite different, when about to appear before his infinite Creator. To such a being he can scarcely imagine, that his littleness and weakness should ever seem to be the proper object either of esteem or reward. But he can easily conceive, how the numberless violations of duty, of which he has been guilty, should render him the object of aversion and punishment. Neither can he see any reason, why the divine indignation should not be let loose, without any restraint, upon so vile an insect, as, he is sensible, that he himself must appear to be. If he would still hope for happiness, he is conscious, that he cannot demand it from the justice, but that he must entreat it from the mercy of God. Repentance, sorrow, humiliation, contrition at the thought of his past conduct are, upon this account, the sentiments, which become him, and seem to be the only means, which he has left for appeasing that wrath, which, he knows, he has justly provoked. He even distrusts the efficacy of all these, and naturally fears, lest the wisdom of God should not, like the weakness of man, be prevailed upon to spare the crime

by the most importunate lamentations of the criminal. Some other intercession, some other sacrifice, some other atonement, he imagines, must be made for him, beyond what he himself is capable of making, before the purity of the divine justice can be reconciled to his manifest offences."

These are indeed the natural sentiments of mankind, as is proved by the history of the world. For the removal of these fears and anxieties the Gospel discloses an expiation, atonement, sacrifice, made by Jesus Christ in his death upon the cross. But here another error is to be guarded against, as fatal as that of rejecting the method of redemption by the Savior's blood; and that is, the hope of being saved by that expiation and sacrifice, in some mysterious manner, by a kind of extreme unction, by a late participation of the Lord's supper, by the efficacy of some religious rite, without feeling towards Jesus Christ the real *Sentiments* of admiration, gratitude, love, and faith, which the Gospel exacts; without taking him as a Teacher and Master, whose moral precepts are to be obeyed, as well as a Sacrifice for the sins, that are past, and a Refuge in that solemn hour, when human pride has reason to tremble. If the approach of death tries the spirit and courage of a man; yet in the solemn moments, which precede dissolution, no tranquillity is to be desired, unless it

be a tranquillity, which will abide after death. There is a sweet calmness at the close of a summer's day, when all nature smiles upon the beholder and gives him the promise of a bright and glorious morning :—there is also a portentous calmness, which precedes the shock of the earthquake, and is followed by tumult and desolation.

APPENDIX.

I. *The "History of the Reign of George III." written by the Author of Junius.*

THERE was published at London in 1770 a work, entitled, "The History of the Reign of George III. to the Conclusion of the Session of Parliament ending in May, 1770, to which is prefixed a Review of the late War," a considerable work of more than 400 pages, 'printed for the *Author*, and sold by T. Evans.' This book, being one of the books in my library, I had the curiosity to examine, in order to see, if it was not *free* from the peculiarities of style, which I supposed I had discovered in Junius; for I had been accustomed to regard it as a work of Burke. Being written or at least published at the very time, when the letters of Junius were coming out, and discussing the same subjects, treated of in those letters, if the work, as I expected, should not exhibit the characteristics, which seemed to be common to the "Considerations" on the German War and to the Letters of Junius; then it would strengthen my conclusion, that the author of the Considera-

tions and of the Letters was the same. But to my surprise I found in the History the same peculiarities. Here then my theory was in danger of being nipped in the bud. My difficulties however were soon removed by discovering, that the History was *not* written, as I had erroneously believed, by Burke. It is not contained in his works; it is not mentioned in his life; I know not, that it was ever ascribed to him; and there is no reason to regard it as his production. Indeed *Burke*, in one of his Speeches, speaks of this work as an "everlasting monument of the folly, incapacity, and pernicious politics of our late and present ministers." The suggestion instantly occurred to me, that it was a production of lord George Sackville, the author of Junius. Of this fact my conviction has been strengthened by careful examination. The grounds of my persuasion I will now exhibit.

I have already stated the frequent use of the word *formidable* in Junius and in the Considerations. It is also habitually employed by the author of the History.—I will present a few instances. "Looking on France as the most constant and most *formidable* enemy of this kingdom."—"Rendered himself *formidable* to Walpole and his venal dependents."—"Overawed by a confederacy the most *formidable*, that the world had ever seen."—"He

became more and more *formidable* every day." —" An army, that was in the morning so great and *formidable*."—" In order to fight an army still more *formidable*."—" Made the enemy soon feel, that they were still more *formidable*."—" The French power, which was more *formidable* than any Nabob."—" Reason to apprehend, that each of these *formidable* powers would become still more *formidable* by an accession of French territory."

When it is considered, that the above instances occur in about 20 pages, no one will question the fondness of the writer for the word. It is true, that in Dr. Johnson's False Alarm, and in his Thoughts concerning the Falkland Islands, written in 1770 and 1771, and containing 80 pages, the word *formidable* occurs three or four times; but I am not aware, that he *often* uses the word in his writings. Besides, this circumstance is to be considered in combination with other circumstances, and not as a solitary argument.

The phrase, '*Be it so*,' has been exhibited both in the Considerations and in Junius. It is also found in the *History*:—" But he must, forsooth, be considered as the great protector of the reformed religion. *Be it so;* while his writings testify how little he values any religion."—Now this is a remarkable phrase. I doubt whether it can be found

in all the writings of Dr. JOHNSON. I have noticed it, however, once or twice in the writings of Burke.

The phrase, *in effect*, is by no means common in the writers of the period referred to. It occurs often in Junius; as, "They, *in effect*, gave up that constitutional check."—"*In effect* he has contrived to make it the interest of the proprietor."—"When you invade the province of the jury, in matter of libel, you, *in effect*, attack the liberty of the press."—"For, *in effect*, both objects have been equally sacrificed."—"That greater abilities would not, *in effect*, be an impediment to a design."—"The form of the constitution leaves rather more than enough to the popular branch; while, *in effect*, the manners of the people," &c.—"Shortening the duration of parliaments (which, *in effect*, is keeping the representative under the rod of the constituent.)"—The letter, in which the two first instances are found, was written at the end of May, 1770, at the very time, when the writer of the History was engaged in his work, which was reviewed in September of that year. In the HISTORY the same phrase presents itself:—"The resolution does, *in effect*, affirm, that all men without exception," &c.—"And, *in effect*, they retreated as far as Landsperg."

The phrase, *Yet still*, is an uncommon one. I suspect it is seldom used, except by writers educated in Ireland. It is about as good, as '*Yet yet*,' or '*Notwithstanding notwithstanding*.' It is not indeed found in the Letters under the signature of Junius; but the same writer assumed the name of Veteran, as Woodfall has shown. In Veteran's letter to lord Barrington of January 28, 1772, is the following sentence—"*Yet still* some of them, though in your wise opinion not qualified to command, are entitled to respect."

The same phrase is often found in the HISTORY: —"*Yet still* it was necessary, that he should act." —"*Yet still* his coffers remained empty."—"*Yet still* the ministry weathered the storm."—"*Yet still*, finding a resource in his own steadiness and courage, he resolved not to fall in an inglorious manner."—"*Yet still* no flag of truce was hung out upon the walls."—"*Yet still*, though that was the object of his last movement, he could not prevent," &c.—"*Yet still* the majority of the lower house was obsequious."—"*Yet still*, the comparison will not hold."

In a speech of lord Sackville February, 1772, in the House of Commons I find the following:— "Suppose the allegation true, *yet still* it can be

here no reasonable objection."—Also, "*yet still* the force of truth finally surmounts every obstacle."

I have met with this phrase once in Francis' Demosthenes,—a work, which I doubt not was much studied by lord Sackville; Dr. Francis lived in Ireland till, I believe, 1750.

I proceed to another remarkable phrase, found both in Junius and in the History.

JUNIUS. May 1769. "There is something in both, which distinguishes you, not only from all other ministers, but all other men. *It is not, that* you do wrong by design, but that you should never do right by mistake. *It is not, that* your indolence and your activity have been equally misapplied, but that," &c.—Also October 1769;—"If these gentlemen were better soldiers, I am sure they would be better subjects. *It is not, that* there is any internal vice or defect in the profession itself, but that it is the spirit," &c.

HISTORY. "*It is not, that* we think it unexceptionable in this respect: on the contrary."—"*It is not, that* the commons did not claim the sole right."—"*It is not, that* the writer is conscious of any blameable partiality."—"*It is not, that* there was not a numerous division against them on this occasion. It was indeed so considerable," &c.—"*It is not, that* the ministerial advocates had not on this

occasion many arguments, or rather sophisms to advance in support of this decision."—"*It is not, that* their numbers were not sufficiently great, and their inclinations good."—"*It is not, that* the people are averse to pay off the debts of the crown. Show, that they were fairly contracted, and they will not murmur."

The History was published in the summer of 1770, and the letters of Junius, above quoted, were written in 1769.

I do not recollect, that I ever met with the phrase '*It is not, that*' in any book whatever, except in *Junius* and in the *History* of the reign of George III.; and also twice in a work of Burke, written in 1791. Burke may have adopted it from Junius. These instances are as follows :—"*It is not, that* I consider," &c.—"*It is not, that* as this strange series, &c.—I have not indulged," &c.

Junius. "With what *color* of truth can he pretend."—"Neither can it be said, with any *color of truth*, to be," &c.—"For the rest, there is *no color* of palliation or excuse."—"Every *color*, every character became you."—"When his character and conduct are frequently held forth in odious or contemptible *colors*."—"Not to furnish any *color* or pretence for violating or evading."—"Defy him to fix any *colorable* charge of inconsistency upon me."

In all these instances the letters were written *after* the publication of the History.

HISTORY. "Under *color* of a judicial proceeding."—"With what *color* of justice can you take the affair under your own cognizance?"—"Under *color* of censuring certain obnoxious parts."—"The following arguments were the *colorable* pretexts for this vote."

JUNIUS. "*In spite* of this evidence,—in defiance of the representations."—"*In spite* of all your grace's ingenuity."

HISTORY. "Yet, *in spite* of all these untoward circumstances."—"*In spite* of all the obstacles."—"Chatham, it is true, exerted himself, *in spite* of age and infirmity, with all the fire of youth."—Thus frequently.

JUNIUS. "Beyond which they would *scruple* to proceed."—"You affected to have *scruples*."—"I will not *scruple* to say, that the very being of that law."—"I do not *scruple* to affirm, with the most solemn appeal."—"As to the game laws, he never *scrupled* to declare his opinion."

HISTORY. "Many made no *scruple* of retiring to dinner, when the most material evidences were examined."

JUNIUS. "*In the name of* decency and common sense, what are your grace's merits?" This was written after the History.

HISTORY. "If this be not the case, why, *in the name of* wonder, were the three estates constituted?"

JUNIUS has been already quoted, as using the phrase *go a length*, &c.

HISTORY. "The offence is *carried* to the utmost *length*."—"They *proceeded* to an unjustifiable *length* in attacking," &c.

JUNIUS. "To *pronounce* fairly upon their conduct, it was necessary."—(May 28, 1770.)—"We may safely *pronounce*, that a conjuncture," &c.—1771.

HISTORY. "To sit in judgment on all the representatives of the people, and *to pronounce* upon the choice."

JUNIUS. "At a most unseasonable *juncture*."

HISTORY. "If they went astray at that *juncture*."—"On whose concord and unanimity the safety of the nation at this *juncture* depends."—"We ought to interfere at this *juncture*."

JUNIUS. "Which you endeavor to *screen* by suddenly dropping your prosecution."—"Who *screened* lord Mansfield?"

HISTORY. "In *screening* the earl of Orford from public justice."—"It was made indeed not to *screen* criminals."—"A treasurer *screens* him by issuing illegal warrants."

JUNIUS. Having sold the nation to you *in gross*, they will undoubtedly protect you in *the detail*."

HISTORY. "Which should never have been touched but in the *gross;* because the purchase of it thus in *the detail* warns the public creditors," &c.

JUNIUS. March, 1770. "When his Majesty had done reading his speech the lord mayor, &c. had the honor of kissing his Majesty's hand: after which, as they were withdrawing, his Majesty instantly turned round to his courtiers, *and burst out a laughing.—Nero fiddled, while Rome was burning. John Horne.*"

HISTORY. "After the citizens had kissed his hand, and were retiring, he instantly turned round to his courtiers, and *burst out a laughing:* a circumstance, which made the people recollect, that *Nero fiddled, when he had set Rome on fire.*"

JUNIUS. "I know you both—and the people of England shall know you as well as *I do.*"—"That great lawyer, that honest man, saw your whole conduct in the light, that *I do.*"—"Done their duty to the public with the same zeal and perseverance, that *I did*, I will not assert, that government would have recovered its dignity."—"You feel, as you ought *to do*, for the reputation of your friend."

HISTORY. "Some *do*, and are not exempted."—"Ventured no farther, than the members fre-

quently *do* in parliament."—"A person of sense will pin his faith upon the sleeve of no man: yet this is what the supporters of the commission *do*."

JUNIUS. "They would have it understood, that they did their duty completely in confining a serjeant and four private soldiers, until they should be demanded by the civil power; *so that*, while the officers, who ordered or permitted the thing to be done," &c.—"Has warned them to hold up and enhance the price;—*so that* the plan of reducing," &c.

HISTORY. "They had used to sell them adulterated rum, and to decoy their children away into slavery. *So that*, when they built a fort," &c.—"*So that*, the ministry, who were not free from the general contagion of fear," &c.—"In consequence of this declaration the courts of London and Berlin came to an eclaircissement, and matters were soon explained; *so that* a treaty, which had the peace of Germany for its sole object, was framed."—"Resolved with great prudence to return without making any attempt; *so that* this great and expensive armament," &c.—"Left his retreat unmolested; *so that*, to all true judges of merit, he appeared as great in his defeat as in the most brilliant of his victories."—"But while he pursued the fugitives, fresh

troops pressed upon his rear; *so that* he was continually harassed."

Lord Sackville, in a speech in the House of Commons;—"Let it be which of them you will, the same cause, that made him enlist, will make him continue in the army as long as he can, unless he meets with some extraordinary good fortune, such as a rich wife, large legacy, or the like; *so that* even this bill, passed into law, as it would produce no alteration in the nature of mankind, recruiting would remain as difficult and expensive, as it is now."

Lord *Sackville*, it seems, early employed the word *so* in a peculiar way. Thus in his letter to major Younge, January, 1748—"There are so many general officers want to employ the boot-maker in Pall Mall, that I fear it will be a long time, before I can have the pleasure of being taken measure of by him; *so*, if you please, do not wait for me," &c. —"We have had no letters from Holland for some days, *so* we do not know, whether the French have attempted any thing."

Junius. "You seem to have dropped the affair; *so* let it rest."

Even in 1745 Sackville wrote—"The opposition began to look big, but Mr. Pitt, Mr. Littleton, the Grenvilles, and several others, instead of joining in

it, as it was imagined they intended, supported the ministry in the address to the king; *so that* Mr. Hume Campbell, Sir Watkin Williams, &c. were the only persons, that gave any obstruction to what was proposed."

It is doubtful whether a sentence thus constructed, in the use of *so that*, can be found in all the writings of Johnson.

JUNIUS. "Our dearest interests are *at stake*."

HISTORY. "If their property were *at stake*, they would prefer to the judicature of the commons a jury of porters, chairmen, or even pickpockets."—"When their fundamental liberties were *at stake*, they would hear of no equivalent."—"The desperate bravery of men, who knew their lives to be *at stake*."

JUNIUS. 1769. "The people are seldom wrong in their opinions; in their sentiments they are never mistaken."

HISTORY. "Their [the populace] intention is always good, and I believe it will be hard to find an instance in history, where they exercised their authority but in opposition to injustice and oppression."

JUNIUS. "Instead of striking one decisive blow."

HISTORY. "The war with Spain made it necessary to strike some blow, which might check her

pride and presumption."—"The ministry would not delay so mortal a blow for a moment."—"They received another blow."

JUNIUS. "Outraged and oppressed as we are, this nation will not bear," &c.—"Recovered from the errors of his youth, &c. behold him."—"Touched with your generosity, I freely forgive the excesses, into which it has led you."—"Unacquainted with the vain impertinence of forms, he would deliver his sentiments with dignity and firmness."—"Animated by the favor of the people, &c., his views and sentiments changed with his situation."—"Versed, as your Majesty undoubtedly is, in the English history, it cannot easily escape you."—"Accustomed to the language of courtiers, you measure their affections," &c.—"Grateful, as I am, to the Good Being, &c., I hold myself."—"Dictated by the same spirit, they deserve the same attention."—"Struck by the principal figure, we do not sufficiently mark in what manner the canvass is filled up," &c.

HISTORY. "Satisfied with having rendered, &c., he left count Dohna with a small army."—"Filled with these generous sentiments, he sought every opportunity of engaging the enemies."—"Sunk thus into want and impotence, he commenced various negotiations."—"Besieged rather than engaged;

attacked without interruption, and without decision; capable neither to advance nor retreat, they saw nothing before them but the melancholy prospect of crumbling away by degrees, and perishing without revenge, without honor in those dreadful forests."—"Baffled in all his military schemes, Sujah Doula formed a resolution worthy of the spirit," &c.—"Ignorant, that the riot act had been read, the multitude increased."—"Unsupported by any personal connections, he triumphed over the whole power of the court."—"Hurried on by their zeal, they did not see, that justice always attends the victor and is measured by his sword: the event being the sole criterion, that determines on which side loyalty or rebellion lie. Influenced by passion more than by prudence, they did not perceive," &c.—"Deeply affected by the tragedy of the preceding night, the principal inhabitants held a town meeting."—"Overawed by the people, whose idol he was,—they had not courage," &c.—"Roused with indignation at such unworthy treatment, the injured Wilkes immediately renounced, and exposed the duplicity and hollowness of his heart to the scorn and detestation of the whole nation."—"Heated by mutual commotion, they proceeded to the most enormous excesses."—"Blessed with concord at home, and victory abroad, it saw its trade and influ-

ence extended beyond the example of any former period."

In respect to this construction of a sentence I think Mr. Burke differs from Junius. In his eloquent and long speech on American Taxation in 1774, there are but one or two instances, and not more than two or three, as I believe, in his Reflections on the Revolution in France. This is not then a peculiarity in his style, as it is in that of Junius. Indeed, in his learned Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, written before the letters of Junius, there is not, I believe, in the whole volume one instance of a sentence, constructed like those now under consideration.

The sarcastic manner, in which the writer of this history speaks of general Abercrombie, indicates a personal pique :—"Two thousand men were missing. Another officer would upon the arrival of his artillery have led such a superior force again to the charge; but this prudent gentleman gained, on the very evening of the action, his former camp to the southward of Lake George. So much for Abercrombie's generalship!"—The indignant feelings of Sackville can be accounted for, when it is recollected, that Abercrombie was one of the officers, constituting the Court for the trial of Sackville in 1760. I think no one, undertaking to write an impartial his-

tory, could, without the influence of personal feelings, have uttered the words—"*So much for Abercrombie's generalship!*"

It may strengthen the proofs brought forward to consider the points of resemblance between the Reply to Burgoyne, evidently a production of lord Sackville, and 'The History of the Reign of George III.' I find in those works one mode of expression, which I have never elsewhere met with, excepting once in a speech ascribed to Mr. Wilkes, May 5, 1763; and that, I am persuaded, was sent to the press by Sackville, the author of the North Briton.

HISTORY. "Was ever independent *Majesty* affronted with a proposition of such arrogance and despotism?"—"All these circumstances rushed upon the mind, and forced it to form conclusions not very favorable to *Majesty*."

REPLY. "That I may not violate that respect, which I feel for *Majesty*, I will not be so arrogant as to enquire upon what grounds, it is probable, that the royal judgment was formed."

The Speech of Mr. Wilkes. "Throw every odious charge from themselves upon *Majesty*." This speech was published in St. James Chronicle May 5, 1763, introduced thus—"It *is said*, the following speech." In Chronicle, May 24, are twenty Queries, relating to the General Warrant, &c. which

surely Wilkes never wrote. In that I find the expression—"the sacred dignity of *Royalty*."

History. "We *will* be ruined, it seems, by victories, as well as defeats; we *will* be a singular example," &c.—*will* for *shall*, being a tinge of the Irish.

Reply. "If you tell us, that it is the privilege of anger to rail, we *will* agree with you," &c.

The following points of resemblance have occurred between the Considerations and the Reign of George III.

Considerations. "That Britain should thus *move heaven and earth* and risk every danger to prevent it."

History. "Would return to their respective constituents, and in *moving heaven and earth* to gain their election would augment the ill humor, which is already too prevalent. 337.

Considerations. "They are driven out of Germany. *Be it so*." 83.

History. "But he must, forsooth, be considered as the great protector of the reformed religion. *Be it so*." 104.

Considerations. Who would *embroil* the Electorate with the Empire."—59. "Raised him up to *embroil* one part of Germany."—72. "And *embroiling* our allies." 97.

HISTORY. "Whose highest wish, at present, was to *embroil* the empire."—"The *embroiled* state of their affairs."

CONSIDERATIONS. "*Not to mention*, that in the present case it seems to be exhausting." &c. 135.

HISTORY. "*Not to mention* the privilege of parliament, which was flagrantly violated." 171.

CONSIDERATIONS. "Employed in enabling those, who should be our allies, to *cut each other's throats;* and it is right, for this only reason, that Britain must have its continental connections." 118.

HISTORY. "The ruffian ordered the Indians under his command *to cut their throats.*"

I am aware it may be said, that if Sackville was the author of the History of the Reign of George III., he would not have censured himself in speaking of the battle of Minden. Let us examine his words:—"Six British regiments with the Hanoverian guards gained the battle of Minden. Seeing their center discomfited, and their right making no impression on Wangenheim, they thought of nothing but a retreat. At this critical moment had lord Sackville according to orders poured in his cavalry upon the dismayed French, they would in all probability have been left without an army in Germany. By some unaccountable fatality he did not execute this essential service, and missed a fair opportunity

of being ranked with the Marlboroughs and Brunswicks." p. 57.

On the supposition, that Sackville was the author of this book, which was written with precisely the object of Junius,—that of overthrowing the ministry,—it was important, that Sackville should keep concealed. If he should apparently censure himself, he would not be suspected. Yet what is the amount of this censure? A court martial had ten years before decided, that he had disobeyed orders. But even this is not allowed by the historian; and the affair is left in the darkness of "some unaccountable fatality." Had it not been for this, Sackville might have been ranked with Marlborough! Surely this is not severe rebuke. It is no more, than might be expected to be said by Sackville, if Sackville was the historian.

That he *was*, is confirmed by several circumstances. If Burke was the writer, why should he seek concealment? The motives of Sackville are obvious. He wished to displace the obstacles to his own advancement, and at the same time not to create enemies, who would prevent it. It was necessary then to shoot his arrows from an unseen place.

The writer says in the preface—"*Unconnected with any party*, he has given vent to the spontaneous

dictates of his heart." Who could say this so truly as Sackville? He was operating only for himself. Yet almost his last words in the book, showing his aim in writing it, are—"Before all is lost, let us act with vigor and bring home the charge to individuals; LET US IMPEACH THE GUILTY MINISTERS."

The following is an extraordinary sentence in the preface. "The character and conduct of our late ministers have been such, that a man of any feeling, or soul, can hardly contain his indignation. The compiler of these pages *confesses*, that in suppressing many reflections upon them, he has done violence to his own nature. Had he not considered what was due to his own character, more than what their measures deserved, he would have painted them in stronger colors. Instead of complaining of his asperity, they ought to thank him for his lenity."

Now, if the anonymous historian was an untitled, literary drudge, who intended to keep in concealment; is it conceivable, that he would speak in this manner? Are there not here indications of a man of rank and eminence,—regarding himself as on a level with the king's ministers or superior to them; —a man of strong passions, inflamed with bitter hostility, yet pretending to be under the restraints, which every gentleman imposes upon himself? Do not all these traits belong to lord Sackville?

It is not a consideration to be utterly neglected in this survey of circumstantial evidence, that in the title page is a long quotation from TACITUS, and in the book various classical allusions. JUNIUS also quotes this writer and says—"The text is in TACITUS—you best know where to look for the commentary."—The author of the *Considerations* also quotes CICERO and SENECA.

In respect to the sentiments of the Historian of the Reign of George III., they correspond with the sentiments of Junius and of the author of the Considerations. He was evidently opposed to German connexions and to a continental war. He had no regard for the Scotch. He says—"It is certain, that one may live for years in Scotland without hearing the word *liberty* pronounced by the populace." He supports Wilkes, on public reasons, and blames Chatham for abandoning him. In short, the sentiments of the book are those of Junius, and such as are suitable to lord Sackville.

I must confess, that I do not find in the History such an accordance with Junius, as I expected, in the use of the preposition and conjunction after a verb and at the close of a sentence. Possibly the publisher may have removed such imperfections, as he might deem them, or the inspector of the press might have interposed in such slight chan-

ges. I find however the following —" Is not then every member of parliament, who has committed, who is falsely accused *of*, these acts."—" They were *so*."—" This house has done *so* in former instances."—" If the disgrace, which ensues, be not thought an adequate punishment, we presume the majority will allow the expense of a second election is *so*."—" At this rate, were the house to resolve, that London has no right to send four members to parliament, and then to declare, that this was law; it must *be so*."

II. *Junius the Author of "The North Briton."*

The first number of the celebrated political paper, 'The North Briton,' was published June 5, 1762; the last, the number 45, was published April 23, 1763. There was however a solitary number, 12 November. The publisher was Mr. George Kearsly, London. For suspicion of being the author of number 45, containing keen remarks on the King's speech, a General Warrant was issued against Mr. Wilkes, which led to the great discussion concerning *General Warrants*. On the ground of *privilege*, as a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Wilkes escaped, by decision of chief justice Pratt, afterwards lord Camden; but for setting up a press in his own house at a subsequent period, and reprinting the obnoxious number, he was prosecuted and had a sentence of outlawry passed against him, as he had fled to France.

That Junius, or lord Sackville, was the author of 'The North Briton,' and particularly of No. 45, is, in my judgment, for reasons which I shall allege and

submit to the judgment of others, placed beyond a doubt.

In the first place there is no evidence, that Mr. Wilkes ever publicly claimed to be the author of the North Briton. It has been considered as a work, written by various hands, or by a club of politicians. The Editor of the Letters to and from Mr. Wilkes, 1769, says—"Some of the numbers have been ascribed to Mr. Wilkes, others to Mr. Churchill, and Mr. Lloyd." I am satisfied, that neither of these gentlemen wrote any part of the work, unless perhaps Mr. Wilkes was the writer of a solitary communication, not the number 45.

Mr. WILKES was not the author of the North Briton. The author, at the request of Mr. Wilkes, inserted his letter to Dr. Burton, and the answer, in No. 21, but *would not* insert other letters, which Mr. Wilkes wished to have inserted. That number begins thus,—"As the attack, which was made on the 30th of September by my good friend the Auditor, on a *Gentleman of known reputation* [Mr. Wilkes], took its rise entirely from a supposition of that Gentleman's being concerned in this paper,—we think it our duty to take every occasion, which offers, of giving the injured party the most public opportunities of vindicating his innocence," &c.

This number was published November 23. Early in the preceding month Mr. Wilkes had fought a duel, of which the following is the history.

In the North Briton, No. 12, published August 21, lord Talbot was exposed to derision, in consequence of which he challenged Mr. Wilkes. This circumstance may account for the friendship of Junius, if Junius was Sackville, to Mr. Wilkes. The writer said—"Not only real services, but every species of elegance and refinement in the polite arts may, I think, without censure, be rewarded with a *pension*. A politeness equal to that of lord Talbot's —*horse*, ought not to pass unnoticed. At the coronation he paid a new, and, for a *horse*, singular respect to his sovereign. I appeal to applauding multitudes, who were so charmed, as to forget every rule of decency, and to *clap* even in the royal presence, whether *his* or his *lord's* dexterity on that day did not surpass any courtiers. Caligula's *horse* had not half the merit. We remember how nobly *he* was provided for."

Now this was a circumstance, to which Mr. Wilkes would not have been likely to attach any importance, but which one, conversant with etiquette, like Sackville, would have seized upon. Talbot, having heard, that Wilkes had claimed to be one of the writers of the North Briton, required

him to acknowledge or disclaim the offensive paper. He refused to do either, saying, "I must first insist on knowing your lordship's right to catechise me about an anonymous paper."

At the time the paper was published, Mr. Wilkes was at Winchester, sixty miles from London. He was also there, when several subsequent numbers were published. There is no reason to think, that a man of pleasure and business could find leisure for writing the North Briton every week. In his letter to Talbot, dated Winchester, September 21, he says—"You are pleased to say, that it is my own declaration before men of truth and honor, that I occasionally assisted the paper, called the North Briton. I wish your lordship had been more explicit, and had mentioned the name of any one gentleman, before whom I made that declaration. Was it made in public? or was it in private conversation?" —"I intend to make a tour on Thursday (23d) to the Isle of Wight."

I am persuaded, the fact is, as the appearance seems to be, that Mr. Wilkes had boasted of what was not true,—of being a contributor to the North Briton. In this dilemma I believe he the next day wrote a long letter to the author of the North Briton, dated September 22, signed William Temple, and which the author says he received from Trow-

bridge in Wiltshire, a place, which Mr. Wilkes might have taken in his tour. This was published in No. 19, and would enable Mr. Wilkes to say what he could not say before, that he was a contributor. The letter is not in the style of the North Briton, though commended by the author as glowing "throughout with the true spirit of liberty." As Wilkes had fought a duel between the writing and the publication of it, on account of the North Briton, the author would naturally praise him. Another circumstance is worth consideration. To this number there is appended a letter from Mr. *Wilkes* himself, asserting the falsehood of a certain story in the Auditor concerning him.

The author of the North Britain, in introducing the letter of William Temple, has the peculiar orthography of Junius, '*intire* for entire'; but Mr. Wilkes, at the end of the same number, writes '*en*tire.' Doubtless the printer followed the manuscript. The writer of this letter uses certain words and phrases, never, I am persuaded, found in the North Briton nor in Junius;—as "*we* must confess," instead of the invariable phrase, "*I* must confess." Also, 'Well;'—'by the bye;'—'remark him!'—'wriggle themselves into power,' three or four times;—and some other expressions, which the superior taste and decorum of the author of the

North Briton could not have permitted him to employ. Besides, the author, I think, could have no motive to represent the letter as coming from Trowbridge, unless it had actually come from Wiltshire.

The letter of William Temple, I am persuaded, is the only article, which Mr. Wilkes wrote for the North Briton.

In respect to Mr. CHURCHILL, the author in No. 11 expressly denies, that he was concerned in the North Briton, but speaks of him in high terms; "the literary world is indebted to that manly genius for some of the noblest productions of our age and language, which will live and be admired by posterity, after all our short-lived political offspring have perished."

As to Mr. LLOYD, the author has inserted his poem, "The Poetry Professors" in Nos. 22 and 26; but the author of the North Briton is very different from the poet, whom he praises, and whose poetry he introduces for the purpose of ridiculing the 'versemanship' on account of the birth of a prince, of Oxford and Cambridge.

Every reader of the North Briton must perceive, that the author was *one*, and that he had one steady aim—to overthrow the ministry and raise himself to office. The first sentence is in the very spirit of Junius—"The *liberty of the press* is the birth-right

of a Briton, and is justly esteemed the firmest bulwark of the liberties of this country. It has been the terror of all bad ministers," &c. In the first number, lord Mansfield, to whom Sackville and Junius bore an inveterate enmity, is attacked: "Let me beg of you, Mr. Monitor, do commit treason: pray be taken up by Carrington and tried by MANSFIELD: his regard to the liberty of the subject is known, and his tender mercies will not be cruelty." In the 7th number he is called lord 'Womansmeadow.' In the 14th number:—"I should like to see this very moral *Codex Buteanus*, illustrated with the *German* commentaries of *count Mansfeldt*, that accomplished civilian, and justly renowned, not so much indeed for nervous, manly sense, as for spinning the most curious webs of artful sophistry, finer and slighter than the very gossamer." He is afterwards assaulted. Let it now be asked, what ordinary political writer would have felt this inveterate hostility to lord Mansfield?

The author of the North Briton had evidently much at stake, and had taken the most prudent measures in order to avoid detection. In No. 27 he says—"Not content with thus basely flying from their *colors* themselves, they tempt me to follow the infamous example; and as an inducement thereto, propose the consideration of *my own safety*.—Let

them point out, if they can, and if they dare, from whom, and on what account, I am in danger, before they produce it as a motive to affect my conduct; and plainly shall they prove, that I have deserved punishment, before they shall oppress me with the fear of it."

The author was evidently alarmed, from the confinement of some persons concerned in the Monitor, of which he was doubtless the author of Nos. 357, and 360, published May 22, and June 12, 1762. Again he speaks of 'the liberty of the press, that bulwark of the liberties of the people.' In No. 32 the North Briton speaks as an individual, and claims the credit, merited "by a faithful and close regard to truth, the great object of all his political enquiries." In No. 37 he says—"professing always a regard to decency, as well as to *my own safety*." In No. 44, "Inclination there is, no doubt, to silence the North Briton, but a consciousness of guilt prevents its being carried into execution; and however they may deal out large promises, and thunder forth empty threats, that impudent libeller, as they are pleased to call, but cannot, or dare not prove him, shall still pursue the path, in which he has hitherto trod; and whilst he finds the opposition, which is now gathering over the minister's head," &c.—"The laws of my country are my protection; my

only patron is the PUBLIC, to which I will ever make my appeal, and hold it sacred."

Mr. WILKES never expressly claimed to be the author of the celebrated number 45. On the contrary, in his petition to the King, March 4, 1768, he speaks of the ministers, who had "imagined him to be the principal author" of their overthrow,—alluding to the North Briton—and adds—"I have been the *innocent* but unhappy victim of their revenge."

In a speech, which Mr. Wilkes made at the bar of the Court of Common Pleas, May, 1763, he said —"I am accused of being the author of the *North Briton*, No. 45.—The author of this paper, *whoever he may be*, has, upon constitutional principles, done directly the reverse, and is therefore, in me, *the supposed author*, meant to be persecuted accordingly."

In the third place, I think Mr. Wilkes was incapable of writing that paper. I mean, that it has some peculiarities of style, not found in his productions; some excellencies of style, which he could not reach. The longest undoubted paper of Mr. Wilkes, which I have seen, is an Introduction to the History of England, &c. in 34 pages. I cannot find in this Introduction any of the characteristics of North Briton No. 45; but in this number I do find striking indications of the pen of Junius;—the same selection of words and phrases, and the same point-

ed and polished sentences. I will first exhibit some of the words and phrases, and then a few sentences, which, I think, to every one conversant with the letters of Junius, will present strong features of resemblance.

"He is *really* fearful of falling into involuntary errors."—"Govern by the three *wretched* tools of his power, who to their indelible infamy have supported the most *odious of his measures*, the late *ignominious peace*," &c.—"*Seems clear to a demonstration*—I *mean* the dictating," &c.—"Pledged himself a firm and intrepid *assertor of the rights*."—"Abandoned instance of *ministerial effrontery* ever attempted to be imposed upon mankind."—"Not to be *paralleled*."—"I am *in doubt* whether," &c.—"*I am sure*—will *hold* the minister in *contempt and abhorrence*."—"The *infamous* fallacy of this whole sentence."—"Meanly *arrogate* to himself a share in the fame," &c.—"Our *wretched* negotiators."—"So vainly boasted *of*."—"I will *venture to say* he must by this time be ashamed *of*."—"The *creatures* of the minister."—"Lord Ligonier is now no longer at the head of the army; but lord Bute *in effect* is: I *mean*, that every preferment," &c."—"*Enormous* influence."—"*Creatures* of the Scottish faction."—"*In point* of military force complimented away."—"See the honor of the crown religiously *assert-*

ed."—"The *prerogative* of the crown is to *exert* the constitutional powers entrusted to it."

"Every friend of his country must lament, that a prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable public declarations, from a throne ever renowned for truth, honor, and unsullied virtue."—"They have sent the spirit of discord through the land, and I will prophecy, that it will never be extinguished, but by the extinction of their power."—"The spirit of concord hath not gone forth among them; but the spirit of liberty has, and a noble opposition has been given to the wicked instruments of oppression."—"The ministry are not ashamed of doing the thing in private; they are only afraid of the publication."

I might proceed with quotations; but I deem any more unnecessary. If by the diligent study of Junius I have acquired any skill in discerning his spirit and style, I see them in this No. 45;—and of the power of writing this number the known productions of Wilkes furnish no promise.

The mysterious manner, in which the name of *Sackville* is introduced into this number, has much the appearance of a purpose of removing from him the suspicion of being the author.—"Was it a ten-

der regard for the honor of the late king, or of his present majesty, that invited to court *lord George Sackville* in these first days of peace, to share in the general satisfaction, which all good courtiers received in the indignity offered to lord Ligonier?" &c.— On the accession of George the III., the earl of Bute invited Sackville to court; but his appearance there caused a great excitement, and he appeared no more during that administration. He thought himself duped in the affair by the earl of Bute, against whom he felt a strong indignation. *Junius* espouses the cause of lord Ligonier.

Let us now see in what manner lord Sackville speaks of the North Briton. In an elegant speech in the House of Commons, December, 1770, he says—"Juries will not convict petty delinquents, when, they suspect, grand criminals go unpunished. Hence libels and lampoons, audacious beyond the example of all other times; libels in comparison of which the North Briton, once deemed the *ne plus ultra* of sedition, is perfect innocence and simplicity. The sacred number, *forty-five*, formerly the idol of the multitude, is eclipsed by the superior venom of every day's defamation: all its magical and talismanic powers are lost and absorbed in the general deluge of scandal, which pours from the press. When matters are thus circumstanced, when the

judges in general, and *lord Mansfield in particular*, are there hung out to public scorn and detestation," &c.

Now this speech was on a motion to inquire into the administration of criminal justice; and it urged the inquiry, and under a pretence of friendship to lord Mansfield it was evidently hostile to him, partaking of the spirit of Junius' letter to Mansfield, written in the preceding month. I cannot doubt, that here was the author of the Sacred Number 45 and the author of Junius' letter to lord Mansfield, alluding, in his conscious security and in proud elation of mind, to both those productions, and under the disguise of candor still pursuing his stern and determined aim, to urge his way to office and rank. I much doubt, whether in the history of the world a more striking example can be found of steadfast, immoveable purpose, and of persevering and singular toil in the chase of a shadow. He began his attack on the ministry by his "Considerations on the German War" in 1760. The North Briton began June 5, 1762, and continued till November 12, 1763. The History of the Reign of George III. appeared in 1770. The letters of Junius extended from 1769 to 1773. He doubtless published many other pamphlets and addresses to the public. Junius says, 15 August, 1771—"I cannot recall to my

memory the *numberless trifles*, that I have written; —but I rely upon the consciousness of my own integrity, and defy him to fix any *colorable* charge of inconsistency upon me."

Through all the numbers of the North Briton I have found, as I believe, the peculiarities of style, which belong to lord Sackville and to Junius; of which I will furnish a few specimens, referring the reader to the corresponding passages already quoted from Sackville and Junius.

"The insinuations *thrown out;*"—"*thrown out* much abuse;"—"to have *thrown out* thoughts;" —"able to *screen* such evil counsellors;"—"to *screen* themselves behind the throne;"—"such a man will *go all lengths* to raise a laugh;"—"to run *all lengths;*"—"*I confess;*"—"*I must confess,*" frequently;—"*I own;*"—"I affirm;"—"I venture to say;"—"their navy was so *formidable;*"— "make the badness of his heart more *formidable;*" —"struck a *blow;*"—the constant use of the words "*assert, assertion, exert, exertion, scruple, really, surely, enormous, infamous, wretch, wretched;*"— "*in*title, *in*close, *in*tire," for entitle, &c.;—"*beyond all doubt;*"—"*juncture;*"—"*practicable, impracticable;*"—"the trial by jury—the sacred *palladium* of liberty."—"Enquiry," whereas Wilkes writes "Inquiry." Sackville, in a letter, 1745, of which

Coventry gives a fac-simile, has "enquired, enquiring." In Woodfall's edition of Junius the words are found promiscuously, "enquire and inquire, enquiry and inquiry." It is probable, that the author of the letters of Junius wrote in both ways.

Even the defects as to grammar are such, as belong to Sackville and Junius: "dissensions *have arose*;"—"a Roman spirit has *rose* against them here;"—"is from necessity *drove* to ask peace;"—"has *broke* through;"—"the earl of Mar too *had wrote* the warmest letter;"—"I wish were *wrote* in letters of gold;"—"an Englishman would have *wrote*."

From the frequent *military* allusions, there is reason to believe the author was a soldier, who had seen real service; and from repeated mention of occurrences in a "certain great assembly," there is reason to believe he was a member of the House of Commons.

But beyond all these separate probabilities the sentiments, the antithesis, and the sentences of the North Briton prove, that he was Junius.

Take the following instances:—"Give them more reason to complain of our being rich, than ever they had to reproach us with our being poor."—"The same consideration of interest, which then made us false, would now make us true."—"As we have

had the address to obtain, I trust we shall have the resolution to preserve them." No. 4.—"Such comparisons, as no man of sense could and no true Briton ought to draw."—"To his enemies it is matter of triumph, though to his friends it shall never be the cause of shame." Speaking of Mr. Pitt—"Our enemies were convinced he would make a good peace or none at all; he was so jealous of his ministerial reputation, and so envious of those, who should succeed him, that in order to prevent their doing of any thing, he left little or nothing for them to do." No. 8.—"A rank and infamous falsehood, which he hath neither courage to maintain, nor honesty to acknowledge." No. 21.—"Can we weigh their principles, and not suspect their actions?"—"Instead of evidencing a change of principles, declares, that they have no principles at all." No. 33.—"They showed their strength as well as their venom." No. 36. —"They may for a short time endanger our little world; but their own ruin will be the certain consequence."—"Their fall will be unpitied; their memories forever detested."—"The very great and excessive complaisance of the associates in power, if he will suffer them to be called associates, whom he never suffers to act as such, in embracing his pernicious doctrines, and falling in implicitly with his fatal measures; their joining to give up in peace what we

had gained in war; their taking such steps, as not only partially affect the property, but strike deeply at the liberty of the subject, have weaned the affections of the people from those few members in the administration, in whom they had reposed some little confidence, and encreased their suspicions in regard to those, whose former behavior had not entitled them to any confidence at all." No. 44.—"Stupidity may not apprehend, or sophistry may sometimes seem to elude the strongest reasonings, but the evidence of facts is irresistible." No. 9.

In examining the writings of Mr. Wilkes I cannot find any trace of the footsteps of the lion. Over those sands the king of the desart never walked.

"The North Briton speaks of *clergymen* in the very style of Junius: "The ecclesiastics are an artful, subtle, and powerful body in all countries: their eyes, however dim to other things, are remarkably quick to every thing, which concerns their own interests: they are generally proud, revengeful, and implacable."—"Safer indeed will our nation always find it to attack a *Savior*, than a *Surplice*, to rase out the four evangelists than to shew an inclination for plucking one spiritual ear of English corn." No. 10.

Compare this with JUNIUS: "The resentment of a priest is implacable; no sufferings can soften, no

penitence can appease him."—"No, my lord, it was the solitary, vindictive malice of a monk, &c. Now let him go back to his cloister. The church is a proper retreat for him. In his principles he is already a bishop." Compare also the following:

North Briton. "A doctrine, which many preceding monarchs had endeavored to establish by cunning, but which the Stuarts first openly avowed, and would have confirmed by force." No. 33.

Sackville's Speech, 1770. "Surely it is the duty of his parliament to guard him against the insidious artifices of those, who, having rendered themselves odious by their conduct, have nothing more to do, but to render themselves secure by their cunning."

As Junius sometimes wrote under the signature of Lucius, the following extract from North Briton, number 36, is worth consideration:—"The younger, Brutus, who delivered Rome from the tyranny of Cæsar, was descended from the patriot stem of Lucius Junius Brutus, who expelled the Tarquins. His countrymen were continually making a kind of family claim on him to stand forth their deliverer, and to emulate the glories of his godlike ancestor."

Junius says, September 7, 1771,—"*I have served* Mr. Wilkes, and am still capable of serving him." But when had Junius done this, unless he was the

North Briton, who published Mr. Wilkes' letter to Burton, and, particularly, who defended him in regard to the general warrant by writing the Queries in St. James' Chronicle, May 24, 1763, and by preparing for that paper the Speeches, '*said to be made*' by Mr. Wilkes? Surely Junius had not served Mr. Wilkes by speaking ironically of his 'patriotism, as thriving by persecution,' nor by these terms in the letter to the king December 19, 1769;—"Pardon *this man* the remainder of his punishment. —He will soon fall back into his natural station;—a silent senator, and *hardly supporting* the weekly *eloquence* of a newspaper. The gentle breath of peace would leave him on the surface, neglected and unremoved. It is only the tempest, that lifts him from his place."

Of this discipline Wilkes himself piteously said in his letter to Junius, September 12, 1771—"He has poured balm into my wounds, the deepest of which I sigh, when I recollect, were made by that now friendly hand. I am always ready to kiss his rod, but I hope its destination is changed," &c.

The North Briton, No. 12 says—"The word *pension* has of late much puzzled our politicians. I do not recollect, that any one of them has ventured at a definition of it. Mr. JOHNSON, as he is now a *pensioner*, one should naturally have recourse to for the

truest literary information on this subject. His definition then of a *pension* is, *An allowance made to any one without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean, pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country.* And under the word *pensioner* we read, 1. a *dependant*; 2. *a slave of state, hired by a stipend to obey his master.* But, with submission to this great prodigy of learning, I should think both definitions very erroneous. Is the said Mr. Johnson a *dependant?* or is he a *slave of state, hired by a stipend to obey his master?*" The writer then ironically represents Johnson as deserving a royal pension, on account of his gentleman-like compliments to his majesty's grandfather and his *decent* treatment of the parliament. "No man, who has read only one poem of his, LONDON, but must congratulate the good sense and discerning spirit of the minister, who bestows such a part of the public treasure on this distinguished friend of the public, of his master's family, and of the constitution of this country."

In another part he says—"Neither of you have reached the force and closeness of expression in the great lexicographer, Mr. Johnson, who defines a *Favorite* to be *a mean wretch, whose whole business is by any means to please.* But whether the word has been well defined or not, in former periods of

the English history, the effect of it has been very fully felt, and even at this hour it is never uttered without the most unjust passion and ill founded resentment, as if the nation was now smarting from the sad consequences of its reality and exertion in pride and insolence."

The reasons for believing this number of the North Briton to have been written by Sackville are the violent attack on the earl of Bute,—references to mathematical definitions and to books of fortification, which are not very likely to have come from Mr. Wilkes, though he was a colonel,—the reference to "the memorable year 1746," when Sackville fought against the rebels—but of which year Wilkes could have known but little, then but 18 years of age,—the ridicule of lord LITCHFIELD for his remissness at that period,—and the terms, in which Mr. PITT is spoken of.

I am persuaded, that Sackville also wrote 'A North Briton Extraordinary,' which was printed, but not published April 17, 1763. Junius, in writing to Mr. Woodfall, speaks of one of his letters as being worth 'a whole North Briton Extraordinary.' Besides this uncommon remark, the style is that of Junius. "Mr. Pitt's resolution arose from conscious virtue, and the earl of Bute's from conscious power;" &c.

Of Junius Dr. Johnson says, in his 'Thoughts on the Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands,' 1771 —"This thirst of blood, however the visible promoters of sedition may think it convenient to shrink from the accusation, is loudly avowed by JUNIUS, the writer, to whom his party owes much of its pride, and some of its popularity. Of Junius it cannot be said, as of Ulysses, that he scatters ambiguous expressions among the vulgar; for he cries *havock* without reserve, and endeavors to let slip the dogs of foreign or of civil war, ignorant whither they are going, and careless what may be their prey.

"*Junius* has sometimes made his satire felt, but let not injudicious admiration mistake the venom of the shaft for the vigor of the bow.

"*Junius* burst into notice with a blaze of impudence, which has rarely glared upon the world before, and drew the rabble after him, as a monster makes a show. When he had once provided for his safety by impenetrable secrecy, he had nothing to combat but truth and justice, enemies whom he knows to be feeble in the dark.

"Junius is an unusual phenomenon, on which some have gazed with wonder and some with terror, but wonder and terror are transitory passions. He will soon be more closely viewed or more attentively examined, and what folly has taken for a comet, that

from its flaming hair shook pestilence and war, inquiry will find to be only a meteor, formed by the vapors of putrefying *democracy*, and kindled into flame by the effervescence of interest struggling with conviction; which after having plunged its followers in a bog, will leave us inquiring why we regard it.

"Yet, though I cannot think the style of Junius secure from criticism, though his expressions are often trite, and his periods feeble, I should never have stationed him where he has placed himself, had I not rated him by his morals rather than his faculties. What, says Pope, must be the priest, where a monkey is the god? What must be the drudge of a party, of which the heads are *Wilkes* and *Crosby*, *Sawbridge* and *Townsend?*"

It will be considered a curious circumstance, if Junius, whom Johnson thus assails, should prove to be the North Briton, who had previously endeavored to overwhelm "*Pensioner* Johnson" with ridicule. Nor will it be the less curious, that "the meteor, formed by the vapors of a putrefying *democracy*," as Johnson deemed in 1771, should, in 1775, —the year in which Johnson wrote his 'Taxation no Tyranny,'—be a chosen Minister of his Majesty, and the adviser and stern supporter of all the measures, which were adopted to maintain the claims of royalty and to subjugate the rebellious colonies. In

Johnson's eyes this "meteor of democracy,"—lord Sackville,—was in 1775 doubtless a bright planet, revolving around the dazzling luminary of Royalty.

If Sackville was the author of the History of the Reign of George III., Dr. Johnson was not alone in forming a mistaken judgment of the political sentiments of the writer of the letters of Junius, and in ascribing to Democratic or Republican principle what is to be attributed to the rancor of party, or the violence of ambition. The Monthly Review says of the author of the History—"He appears to be intimately acquainted with what the Authors of antiquity have written concerning liberty and government. —We should imagine, that he may have imbibed from them too large a proportion of that love of equality and independence, which, though of the greatest advantage in a *pure republic*, is not altogether so suitable to the genius and spirit of a limited monarchy."

This indiscreet republican and great lover of independence, as he was deemed by the wise Reviewer, was shortly afterwards, as I am persuaded, the inflexible minister of royalty and stern foe of American liberty, firmly resolved never to acknowledge the independence of brave colonies, struggling for their invaluable, unalienable rights.

Regarding Sackville as the author of the various works, which have now been ascribed to him, I have not formed a very high opinion of his morality. There was one steady object in most of them,—to overthrow the existing ministry, that he might elevate himself to office; and this object was united with the indulgence of a spirit of revenge. His strong passions were exhibited in the employment of the bitterest sarcasms and the most contumelious language. His irreverent use of the name of God is hardly reconcileable with any well founded principles of morals; as when he says to his printer, December 19, 1769, "For *material* affection, for God's sake, read *maternal*." So again, March 18, 1770. "This letter is written wide.—For God's sake let it appear to-morrow." Also the idle words, 'God only knows.' Whether a man, accustomed to speak and write in this manner, as unhappily is the case with many *gentlemen*, can be an habitual worshipper of God and daily influenced in his conduct by the fear of the Almighty, or by a regard to his approbation,—the only stable principle of morals,—I leave it to the intelligent reader to judge.

One of the letters of Junius was so shamefully indecent, that he had the good sense to exclude it from his edition. One can hardly attach much credit to his apology for it, if he was the sole depos-

itory of his own secret : "The last letter you printed was idle and improper, and I assure you printed *against my own opinion*. The truth is, there are people about me, whom I would wish not to contradict, and who had rather see Junius in the paper ever so improperly, than not at all. I wish it could be recalled. Suppose you were to say—We have some reason to suspect, that the last letter, signed Junius in this paper, was not written by the real Junius." In this suggestion there is little of candor and honesty.

His indulgence to Wilkes indicates but little of stoic virtue : "I too am no enemy to good fellowship, and have often cursed that canting parson [Mr. Horne] for wishing to deny you your claret. It is for *him*, and men like *him* to beware of intoxication. Though I do not place the little pleasures of life in competition with the glorious business of instructing and directing the people, yet I see no reason why a wise man may not unite the public virtues of Cato with the indulgence of Epicurus." But alas, where shall we find public virtue without private? Is it in Wilkes, who made a trade of patriotism, and who, deeming "the public a goose," regarded the man as a fool, who should hesitate in plucking a feather? Or is it in Junius himself, the once flaming patriot, and glorious teacher of the people, forgetting in the

capacity of minister every thing but the interests and wishes of his royal master, who might reward him with a peerage?

Do we find the dignity and calmness of virtue in the opprobrious terms of 'wretch, idiot, rascal, fool, and villain,' which are scattered through the letters of Junius?

On what a sandy foundation must that system of morals be built, which admits of duelling? Yet it does not appear, that Sackville felt any compunction for his violation once, in a private combat, of the laws of God and man, nor for the purpose of violating them a second time. In that mind, which dreads the laugh of a mortal more than the displeasure of the Almighty, there must be a miserable perversion of intellect and of passion. There may be a claim to worldly honor; but the pretension to virtue, to morals, to principle is ridiculous. It is the glittering bubble, which is borne along by every wave; the rock remains immoveable amidst the fluctuations of the sea.

NOTES.

I.

Since the foregoing work was written, it has been stated in the newspapers, copied from the London Globe, that "Five letters are deposited in the archives of the Grenville family at Stow, which establish, beyond the possibility of doubt, the real author of Junius. This eminent individual was politically connected with Mr. George Grenville, the grandfather of the present Duke of Buckingham, from whom these autograph proofs have descended to the present possessor. The venerable statesman, nearly allied to the duke of Buckingham, has requested the discovery should not be published during his life time.—It is however confidentially asserted, that in all the controversies relating to these celebrated letters the author of them has not been named."

Such is the last and newest report; and it deserves just as much credit, as many other stories, which have had their day and are now forgotten.—If in this notice it is intended to suggest, that the author of the letters of Junius is now living;—then he must be indeed a "venerable" man, for as it is now more than sixty years since Junius began to write, if we allow, that when he spoke of his "long experience" he was fifty

years of age, the venerable statesman is now one hundred and ten years old!

As to the political connexion of Junius with Mr. George Grenville; Junius declared in his letter of July 29, 1769, that he had not "the honor of being personally known to him."—There is in fact no evidence, that Sackville was personally acquainted with Grenville.—In respect to autograph letters of Junius being in possession of the Grenville family, it is altogether improbable, for the letters were generally returned by Woodfall to the author. And if some letters of Junius are now in the possession of that family, they can be of no more value in determining the author, than the autograph letters, of which fac-similes have long since been published by Woodfall.

However, it is very likely, that in some great families in England there are autograph letters of lord George Sackville; nor can I doubt, that if fac-similes of such letters, written about the year 1770, were given to the public, they would exhibit the same hand-writing, which is presented in Woodfall's specimens of Junius.

It is worthy of remembrance, that when, within three or four years past, Mr. Coventry applied to the Duke of Dorset, the son of lord Sackville, for permission to examine some letters of his father, written from Culloden and Minden, the duke observed, that he had not "any of his father's letters in his possession." It is very probable the duke suspected the inquiry of Mr. Coventry to relate to the author of the letters of Junius. He

more than once remarked, during the interview with Mr. Coventry, "that his father was an injured man; but he believed there never existed one, who naturally possessed a better or more susceptible heart."

Yet the autography of the letters of Junius is not decisive in the inquiry concerning the author, except on the supposition, to which I cannot refuse my assent, that he did not employ an amanuensis, unless perhaps in the case of the letter to the King. But, if it could be proved, that the letters of Junius were not in the hand-writing of Sackville; it would not affect the general argument of this book. It may still be clear, beyond a reasonable doubt, that he was the author of those letters.

Since the foregoing work was written, the following extract from the Baron De Stael's Letters on England has appeared in the North American Review for January, 1828:—"When I took charge of the North Briton,"—said the noted John Wilkes,—"I found it in the hands of Churchill and Lloyd, who were men of taste and wit. I soon saw, that this would not answer; and giving up all pretensions to elegance of style, I began to cry out with all my might, *Down with the Scotchman! Down with the Scotchman!* In this way I pretty soon despatched lord Bute."—The authority for ascribing this speech to Mr. Wilkes does not appear; but if correctly ascribed, it will strengthen the argument against his being the author of the North Briton. It is here intimated, that the first numbers of that paper did

not attack lord Bute, and that they are written with greater elegance of style, than the latter numbers; neither of which suggestions is founded in truth. The original and great object of the North Briton was to pull down the Scotchman, or to overthrow the existing administration. The very first number ridicules the eloquence of the Scot, and obviously refers to him as an "insolent, weak, and treacherous minister." The second number is chiefly devoted to the "*Scotsman*, planted at the head of the *English* treasury." The fourth number says, "the Earl of BUTE, JOHN STUART, a name ever dear to us,—possesses the first post in the state." The fifth number is a most violent attack on the "Favorite" in the character of Mortimer, ending with the wish, that when power is acquired by profligacy, and a "court-minion" rules, the prince will, like Edward, "crush the aspiring wretch, who mounts to power by such ignoble means." Surely this is crying out lustily enough—"Down with the Scotchman!"

There is such a close relation between the fifth number and the thirty-ninth,—such a resemblance in argument and the method of attacking lord Bute,—that probably no one will doubt, that they both proceeded from the same pen; so that, if Mr. Wilkes did not write the early numbers, he did not write the thirty-ninth. Indeed, by comparing the various numbers of the North Briton, the intelligent reader will not fail to be convinced, that with possibly a very few exceptions, in which the author made use of the papers sent to

him, they all bear the evident stamp of the same mind. To the same person must be ascribed the "Dedication, prefixed to the Fall of Mortimer, to the right honorable John, Earl of Bute."

There are other considerations, tending to prove, that Mr. Wilkes did not write the North Briton.—Would he, whose profligacy was notorious, have been solicitous on account of the pernicious effect of lotteries? Would he have written in No. 42—"Lotteries have always been objected to, as promoting a spirit of gaming, so peculiarly pernicious to a commercial country?"

The North Briton indicates an intimate acquaintance with the state of the finances of the country, the affairs of the East India company, the condition of the army, and with the political history of England and of other countries, which can hardly be ascribed to Mr. Wilkes at so early a period of his life,—and much less to Mr. Churchill, who had just abandoned the church and devoted himself to profligacy and poetry, or to his friend, young Mr. Lloyd; but which are very appropriate to the known character of lord Sackville.

If it should be asked, how came Churchill to receive the profits of the North Briton, as, it is said, was given in evidence by the Bookseller, it may be replied, that this fact is fatal to the pretensions, as commonly understood, of Mr. Wilkes to be author and proprietor. If lord Sackville was the author, as he could not, without danger of detection, receive the profits himself, and

could not wish for them; there is nothing to account for, but why he should give them to Mr. Churchill, rather than to some other person. And here it is easy to suppose various motives;—admiration of his talents, —sympathy with him in his rancorous hostility to the Scotch, as manifested by his "Prophecy of Famine,"— compassion for his poverty, as he had just escaped the terrors of a prison by compounding with his creditors,— and the desire of enlisting his powers in the attack on the ministry. The praise of Churchill in No. 11 has already been alluded to. On the supposition, that Sackville conducted the North Briton, all obscurities and difficulties vanish. The hostility, the rancor, the extensive political knowledge, the zeal, the determination, the unity of the work are all accounted for. And as Mr. Wilkes, after the general warrant issued against him as the author, ever afterwards plumed himself with the feathers of the noble bird, which did not belong to him, it is no wonder, that lord Sackville, who alone was acquainted with the secret, should as Junius speak contemptuously of the talents of Mr. Wilkes even in the height of his fame, and should even tutor him, as he did in one of his letters to him, on his making himself too cheap, and lowering his dignity, by showing himself so frequently in the streets of the city.

Mr. Charles Butler, in speaking of Mr. Wilkes, in reference to the letters of Junius, says,—"No one, acquainted with his style, can suspect for a moment, that he was the author of them; the merit of his style was

simplicity; he had both gaiety and strength, but to the rancorous sarcasm, the lofty contempt, with which Junius' Letters abound, no one was a greater stranger, than Mr. Wilkes." * But if he was incapable of writing the letters of Junius, he was also incapable of writing the numbers of the North Briton, which are filled with the same sarcasm and the same rancor.

Mr. Butler and Mr. Wilkes had many conversations between the years 1776 and 1784 on the subject of Junius' Letters, and made great efforts to discover the author. "Mr. Wilkes scouted the notion of Mr. Burke's being the author of the letters. His suspicions fell on Dr. Butler, bishop of Hereford." But for reasons very unsatisfactory to Mr. Butler—"Arguing synthetically, we determined, that Junius must be a resident in London, or its environs, from the immediate answers, which he generally gave his adversaries; that he was not an author by profession, from the visible improvement, which from time to time was discernible in his style; that he was a man of high rank, from the tone of equality, which he seemed to use quite naturally in his addresses to persons of rank, and in his expressions respecting them; that he was not a profound lawyer, from the gross inaccuracy of some of his legal expressions; that he had a personal animosity against the king, the duke of Bedford, and lord Mansfield, from the bitterness of his expressions respecting them;

* Butler's Reminiscences, p. 68.

that he had lived with military men from the propriety of his language on military subjects." * All these conditions, it has been seen, are answered by the situation and character of lord Sackville; and from these circumstances Mr. Butler seems inclined to think the evidence is stronger in his favor, than in favor of any other person. Yet the evidence he deems defective; and upon the whole appears disposed, without evidence, to ascribe the authorship of the letters to Mr. Charles Lloyd, private secretary of Mr. George Grenville. Dr. Parr and others regarded him as the author. The only argument in his favor is, that when he died, Junius ceased to write. He died January 23, 1773, four days after the date of the last letter of Junius. But surely this solitary circumstance ought to have very little weight. Junius had ceased to write for the public long before January 19, the date of his last private letter. In some of the letters of Junius, under different signatures, lord Chatham was attacked in a manner, which could not have proceeded from the secretary of Mr. George Grenville, who was the brother-in-law and at that time the political friend of lord Chatham. The Miscellaneous Letters of 16 February and 23 April, 1768, and October 19, 1770, may be referred to on this point. There are yet other insuperable difficulties in the way of tracing the Letters of Junius to the instigation of Mr. Grenville. He died November, 1770,

* Butler's Reminiscences, p. 71.

when the Letters of Junius were but half written.—Having been the associate in office with the duke of Bedford, after the resignation of lord Bute, the vehement attack of the duke would not have proceeded from him.—Mr. Lloyd could not have felt the influence of those motives, which only can account for the writings of Junius. Besides, Junius, with apparent honesty, disclaimed any personal acquaintance with Mr. Grenville.—Lord Sackville adopted Mr. Grenville's views as to America; and he might have hoped, if Mr. Grenville were restored to the ministry, to take office with him.

Junius requested of Woodfall a set of his letters;—"*let me have a set, bound in vellum, gilt and lettered, as handsome as you can—the edges gilt—let the sheets be well dried before binding.*" There is very little reason to suppose these two vellum volumes are in the Grenville family, as Mr. Butler, though a lawyer, supposes without reason and proof; but, if the argument of this book is not fallacious, probably they might be found, if they have not been destroyed, in a secret cabinet of the present Duke of Dorset, the son of lord GEORGE SACKVILLE.

II.

The author has unexpectedly, since writing the preceding note, obtained additional proof in favor of his views concerning the origin of the North Briton and of the Letters of Junius. The limits of a note will not

allow him fully to explain this confirmatory evidence; but he cannot forbear alluding to it and giving a brief account of it.

"The Political Register," a monthly political Journal, was publishsd at London by Almon in May, 1767, and was continued till June, 1771, or later. This work has been ascribed to Wilkes and Lloyd, but erroneously; for Lloyd was dead, and Wilkes was an outlaw at Paris, and did not return till 1768. Besides, in some of the numbers the character of Mr. Wilkes was attacked, though from public views he was generally supported. It is certain, then, that Mr. Wilkes was not the editor; yet he may have been an occasional contributor.

In this work many of the letters of Junius were republished, and without any intimation, that they had been printed in the Public Advertiser. Several of the miscellaneous letters of the same writer, under different signatures, were also republished; as Poplicola, in the first number. There are also various communications in the Register, evidently from the same pen.

In the number for March, 1768, there is a piece of fourteen pages, called "A FRAGMENT, containing many interesting and constitutional remarks on the case of Mr. Wilkes, written in the summer of 1763; and now first published." This was evidently written by the author of the North Briton, and it affords evidence also of coming from the author of the letters of Junius. Had Wilkes written it, he would have pub-

lished it before his trial in 1764. It was doubtless put to press in 1768, before Mr. Wilkes returned from Paris.

It begins with the very military allusions of Junius, —"The ministers were the aggressors in the political warfare of defamatory writings: Their great champions first took up arms; but neither abilities, falsehoods, nor pay could keep the mercenaries in the field. They were fairly beat, and retired. Then their masters, pricked with pungent retaliation, armed with irresistible evidence of fact, used the *corps de reserve* of power, and called for the artillery of the law to defeat their adversaries, on whom they could make no impression by answers, argument, nor by corruption."

The following sentences seem to intimate, that the North Briton had not been correctly ascribed to Mr. Wilkes:—"Can the strongest prejudices carry any man, who will use his own eyes and understanding, to believe, that the author of the North Briton, number forty-five, *be he who he will*, meant an insult to the King? All, he has said, is levelled against the ministers, and he expresses, in a variety of sentences, the utmost respect for his Sovereign; a heart-felt duty and affection to his person; a high veneration for his qualities; and an undissembled attachment to his royal house, and the succession to the crown in the protestant line."—"It was therefore very artful to raise a cry against the *alleged* author of the North Briton."

The following passage will lead one to believe, that the author was not Mr. Wilkes, but a member of a great Whig family, who had a personal interest, as Sackville had, in the distribution of the royal patronage :—" The author has waged perpetual war with Toryism and disaffection. Nothing has been more complained of in the whole course of the paper, than that, ever since the *Favorite's* influence became predominant, the staunch, known, and tried friends of the royal family have been depressed ; and the avowed enemies of it unreasonably elevated, rather than sincerely converted ; a thing very desirable, but of which their insolence towards the *natural stock*, that needed no conversion, which they have remarkably shown, since they found themselves in favor, is but a sad proof. It is not reasonable to think, that such a writer should mean to give a personal affront to the king.—It is impossible to torture it into an insult to Majesty, unless the word *minister* is the same with the word *king*."

The antithesis of Junius is seen in the following :—" But to stir up royal anger with fictitious affronts is the injury of an enemy, not the kindness of a friend,—the art of a sycophant, not the fidelity of a minister."

We find also the defects of Junius as to grammar :—" his locks were *broke* open, and his papers carried away ;"—" In short, every barrier has been *broke* through ;" and also a frequent metaphor of Junius :—" State their conduct in its *true colors* to his majesty : "

—"*under color* of making his majesty resent an insult to himself."

Sackville is alluded to as follows:—"Part of his indignation against the *minister* is for not shewing a due regard for the honor either of our late gracious sovereign, or of his present majesty,—'Was it (says he) a *tender regard* for the honor of the late king, or of his present majesty, that invited to court lord George Sackville?'"

Perhaps it may be thought, that if Sackville himself was the author of the Fragment, he would not have quoted the North Briton apparently in derogation of his own honor. But at this period, when Sackville was in the ranks of the opposition to the ministry, if Mr. Wilkes was the author, he would not have inserted the name of Sackville, with the probability thereby of creating an enemy to his own cause; especially as he was about to return to England and to offer himself as a candidate for election to parliament. But Sackville might thus quote the North Briton for the very purpose of obviating suspicion towards himself.

In the same volume of the Register (II. 408) a writer in the St. James' Chronicle, whose signature is A. B., May 2, 1768, also vindicates the North Briton No. 45:—he is probably the very author of the Fragment. It would seem, that he was a member of parliament:—"Lord North could not find one word *false* in that whole paper, although he was challenged to it in express words by Mr. Wilkes, in the House of Com-

mons, when his lordship almost choaked himself, as well as stunned his audience, on the first day of the session, in 1763. *I was present*, I saw him foam at the mouth, and heard him guggle in the throat, *that* I thought he would have been strangled."

This use of the word *that* is not English; but is in the manner of the Scotch and Irish.—The writer then proceeds to state some facts relating to the German war, which can hardly be attributed to Mr. Wilkes, but which would have been familiar to Sackville. He says also—"I heard lord Bute declare in a great assembly, that *the dominions of the King of Prussia were to be scrambled for;* the most indecent, vulgar, and infamous expression for an ally of the crown of England, which any minister ever uttered." Would Mr. Wilkes have been likely to recollect and repeat this remark of Bute; and to have felt so warmly on the subject?

The same writer, A. B. also, at the same time, wrote for the Public Advertiser, and says,—"The famous No. 45 being now triumphant, and every objection to it having been fully answered." From Woodfall's edition it appears, that Junius wrote a note November 5, 1768, under the signature of A. B.

The first piece in the first number of the Political Register bears the stamp of Junius;—entitled, "Remarks on the Principles of the British Government." The writer says,—"A minister, whose *maiden* political talents had not yet been *fleshed*." This was published May, 1767. In October, 1768, the author of the letters

of Junius writes,—"His Grace had honorably *fleshed his maiden sword* in the field of opposition." Did Junius condescend to borrow the phrase from the Register; or are Junius and the writer for the Register the same person?

This writer also speaks of "planting *thorns* in the king's crown;" and Junius alludes to Mr. Wilkes, July, 1771, as "a *thorn* in the king's side."

This writer, in the Register for September, 1767, speaking of "Prerogative," says, "It is, in reality, no more than that share of the government, which is vested in the crown as the balance of the constitution, and for the general welfare of the community. It is in itself, in every part, a *trust* for the people, not a personal or patrimonial *property* or *estate* of the prince." Junius says, in his Dedication, "The power of king, lords, and commons is not an arbitrary power; they are the *trustees*, not the owners of the *estate*. The fee-simple is in us: they cannot alienate, they cannot waste."

This writer says,—"There is no fear, that a sovereign, embued with the principles, and enamored with the glories of this constitution,—will ever think of *plucking away* the smallest part of so rich a *plumage*." Was this the origin of the unequalled metaphor of Junius?—"Private credit is wealth;—public honor is security.—The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports his flight. Strip him of his *plumage*, and you fix him to the earth."

The writer of notes on the works of Mr. Churchill in the first volume of the Register, says, that Mr. Wilkes had been some months at Winchester, guarding the French prisoners, when a friend wrote to him, that Mr. Hogarth was preparing his abusive print of *The Times*, Mr. Wilkes replied, that if he thought the North Briton would insert what he should send, he would appeal to the public on the Saturday following the publication of the print. *The Times* soon appeared, and the next Saturday the seventeenth number of the North Briton. "*If* Mr. Wilkes did write that paper, he kept his word." This number was printed at London, September 25, 1762. At that time Mr. Wilkes was far distant from London; either at Winchester, or on a journey to the Isle of Wight. Of course, it is altogether improbable, that he wrote No. 17; and although, after one fire, in the duel with Talbot, he prudently "avowed" the offensive No. 12, and thus escaped the repetition of the hazardous trial of skill, yet it seems very clear also, that he could not have written that number, dated August 21, inasmuch as he was then a resident at Winchester.

It has been stated, that A. B. was written by Junius in 1768, and hence inferred, that A. B. in the Register was from the same pen. But it may be thought an objection to this conclusion, that Junius, November, 1769, disclaimed being the author of a piece, then published with the signature of A. B. Nothstanding this disclaimer, there is reason to believe, that Junius did actually

write A. B. among the Miscellaneous Letters, published November 10th. It is in his style: it was printed by his desire. Would he have requested the publication, if he had not been the author? It is true, Mr. Woodfall was directed to deny it; but Junius had in the preceding month directed the denial of one of his unquestioned letters; that to Junia. Among the reasons for the denial of A. B. one is obvious,—that as he had inadvertently employed the signature, which he frequently used in the Political Register, and as Messala had expressly ascribed A. B. to Junius, the danger of the detection of Junius would be increased, if the identity of A. B. and Junius were admitted, or were not denied.

There are yet other proofs, that Junius was a contributor to the Political Register. His first public Letter of January 21, 1769, appeared in the Register for February as an *original* communication; introduced thus—"For the Political Register;" and there is no intimation, that it had been printed in the Advertiser.

A writer in the Register for January, 1768, speaks of lord Bute as "the mighty *Thane*. So also B. F. in the Register for September, 1768, publishes an "account of the flight of the Scottish *Thane*." Now Junius applies the same term to the earl in his letter of April 5, 1768, —"Let the *Thane* look to himself."

In the Register for March, 1768, the first miscellaneous letter of Junius, as given by Woodfall, dated February 16th, is republished, headed thus, "On putting the Privy Seal into Commission. (See the Political Barom-

eter in this number.)" This title is absent from Woodfall's edition; it was doubtless given by the author, and renders it probable, that Junius wrote the Political Barometer. The first number of the Barometer was for September, 1767, furnished by one of the Editor's correspondents, who promised a continuation, and said, "only such occurrences will be inserted, as are strictly political, or are of importance to the public, or in some degree affect the administration of government; and *many facts will here make their first appearance in print.*" This intimates a writer conversant with the court and engaged in public affairs. As a specimen of his chronology, take the following:—"*September* 9. Lord Mansfield was at court, and had the honor of a conference in the closet.—His lordship was appointed chancellor.—10. A great lady paid a long visit to a great personage. All hopes of an able and permanent administration vanished.—12. Lord Bute came to town. 15. Lord Barrington came to town."—"*October* 5. Lord North appointed chancellor." *November.* Extract of a letter from Corke... "The late commoner was longer the idol of this country, than of yours... We now despise and contemn him... Lord Temple is the idol of this country for his steady opposition to the Thane and faithful attachment to liberty."—"*February*, 1768. Such is the divided and inharmonious state of the ministers, that those, who know most of their situation, make no *scruple* of asserting, they cannot stand six months as they are."—Many pages of the Barome-

ter for July and August, 1768, are devoted to the affairs of Mr. Wilkes, and A. B. is reprinted in it from the St. James' Chronicle. *As a part* of the Barometer, in the Register for October, 1768, the letters of Lucius (Junius under that signature) are republished. So the letters of Atticus (by Junius) are a part of the Barometer for November, 1768.

How then can it be doubted, that Junius wrote the Barometer, and A. B., as well as the North Briton? And as A. B. in June or July, 1768, speaks of the "insolent Scot as trampling on the *ancient nobility* of this kingdom," it is probable the writer belonged to a *noble* family.

Various other considerations, which cannot in this note be explained, have led to the undoubted conclusion, that lord SACKVILLE was the principal writer for the Political Register. By his own acknowledgment to Mr. Horne in 1771, he had written "numberless trifles."

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9999 09913 793 5